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# AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

*A Quarterly*

*Vol. L, No. 4*

*July, 1945*

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Entered as second-class matter January 16, 1932, at the Post-office at Richmond, Va.,  
under the act of March 3, 1879.

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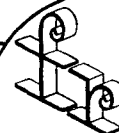
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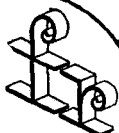
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# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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*July, 1945*

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## The Baltimore Convention of 1912

ARTHUR S. LINK\*

THE movement to make Woodrow Wilson the Democratic presidential nominee in 1912, fathered by George Harvey and carried forward by a group of young progressive Democrats, stood in a fair way of foundering on the rocks of factional politics by the spring of 1912.<sup>1</sup> Wilson had campaigned vigorously for the nomination during the early months of 1912, but in few states in which he campaigned did the New Jersey governor win support. It was Champ Clark of Missouri, speaker of the House of Representatives, who loomed up as the man most likely to win the nomination. Following his smashing victory over Wilson in the Illinois primaries in April, 1912, Clark swept through Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Kentucky, New Hampshire, Maryland, Nebraska, West Virginia, Washington, Arkansas, Rhode Island, California, and several of the less populous western states.<sup>2</sup>

\*The author is instructor in history at Princeton University.

<sup>1</sup>The author's research in this field, made possible by a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, has been embodied in an unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," deposited in the Library of the University of North Carolina.

<sup>2</sup>For the Democratic prenomination campaign see Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters* (8 vols., New York, 1927-39), III, 175-321, and my "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912."

Early in April Wilson made an extended "swing around the circle" in his wife's native state of Georgia, only to see it fall to Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama.<sup>3</sup> Florida and Mississippi soon afterward followed Georgia into the Underwood ranks. Wilson himself fell ill. William F. McCombs, his campaign manager, was disheartened, and his office and the headquarters at 42 Broadway were deserted.<sup>4</sup> Colonel Edward M. House, who had played a minor role in the Wilson prenomination campaign, began to doubt that Wilson could be nominated. He thought that the opposing candidates in November might again be Bryan and Roosevelt,<sup>5</sup> and wrote to Mary Baird Bryan, pledging his support to the Commoner if he were again the Democratic nominee.<sup>6</sup> House also turned to his old friend, Senator Charles A. Culberson of Texas. "Do you feel that your health would permit you to accept the nomination if it were tendered to you?" he wrote. "In the event of a deadlock, which seems likely to occur, I can think of no one excepting you that would be satisfactory to all factions."<sup>7</sup>

There were, however, a few signs of encouragement. Texas, on May 28, went overwhelmingly for Wilson, and his friends in Pennsylvania carried that state solidly for him. Moreover, in Wisconsin, Oregon, Delaware, Minnesota, North Carolina, and South Carolina the Wilson leaders were successful. The greatest encouragement came when the New Jersey primaries gave Wilson twenty-four out of the state's twenty-eight delegates. It furthermore appeared that the Wilson forces were strongly represented in the Michigan, Ohio, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Maine, Virginia, North Dakota, and South Dakota delegations. Of the total convention vote of 1,088, some 248 were instructed for Wilson, and the additional support of the Wilson men in the uninstructed delegations would hardly give him control of one third of the convention vote.

Clark, on the other hand, would enter the convention with over 400 votes; Underwood was assured of over 100 votes from the South; Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio, Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana, and other "favorite sons" controlled over 100 votes, while some 224 votes were uncertainly controlled by political bosses who scented a Clark victory and were eager to use their delegations as weapons for bargains and trades with the Missourian's managers.

<sup>3</sup> For the identification of Underwood, McCombs, and many others, see biographical footnotes to the Gregory letter in this issue, pp. 768-75.

<sup>4</sup> Maurice F. Lyons, *William F. McCombs, the President-Maker* (Cincinnati, 1922), pp. 75-76.

<sup>5</sup> House to Charles A. Culberson, May 1, 1912, Edward M. House Papers (manuscripts in the library of Yale University); hereinafter cited as House Papers.

<sup>6</sup> House to Mary B. Bryan, June 22, 1912, *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> House to Culberson, Apr. 23, 1912, *ibid.*



The results of the Republican convention, which met in Chicago two weeks before the Democratic convention, further weakened Wilson's chances for the Democratic nomination, for the great schism between the Taft and Roosevelt forces led many Democrats to conclude that it really made no essential difference whom they nominated. Certainly the argument of Wilson's supporters that only he could win the presidency because only he among the Democrats could divide the Independents from the Republican party was completely vitiated now that Roosevelt had accomplished the division for them.

The hectic and confused week preceding the Democratic convention at Baltimore saw the occurrence of events of tremendous import for the outcome of the presidential struggle. Wilson, resting peacefully with his family at Sea Girt, New Jersey, could write that "deep down, my soul is quiet"<sup>8</sup>—but not for long, for William J. Bryan disturbed the peaceful scene at Sea Girt by his concern over the Democratic national committee's decision to select Alton B. Parker, Democratic standard-bearer in 1904, as the temporary chairman at Baltimore. The committee on arrangements of the national committee, meeting at Baltimore on June 20, supported Chairman Norman E. Mack in his campaign to make Parker temporary chairman.<sup>9</sup> Bryan was convinced that the same conservative forces that controlled the Republican convention were preparing to move to Baltimore. He protested in vain against Parker's selection, stating that he could not believe such "criminal folly" was possible. Undismayed by the rebuff he received from the committee on arrangements, the Nebraskan determined to carry his fight against Parker into the national convention itself. Ignoring Harmon and Underwood, whom he considered "reactionaries," he immediately sent identical telegrams to Wilson, Clark, and several "favorite son" candidates, asking if they would stand by him in his fight against Parker.<sup>10</sup>

William F. McCombs, at the Wilson headquarters in Hotel Emerson in Baltimore, was terror-stricken by Bryan's move. He feared that an unequivocal answer from Wilson supporting Bryan's stand would alienate Charles F.

<sup>8</sup> Wilson to Mary A. Hulbert, June 17, 1912, Baker, III, 333.

<sup>9</sup> *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention* (Chicago, 1912), p. 473; hereinafter cited as *Proceedings of the Convention*. See also Josephus Daniels, "Wilson and Bryan," *Saturday Evening Post*, CXCVIII (Sept. 5, 1925), 48. Four months prior to the convention, Mack had given Bryan assurance that should he desire to be temporary chairman, Mack and most of the members of the committee on arrangements would gladly support him. Bryan refused to be a candidate for the position and suggested that Wilson and Clark be asked to agree upon a candidate. Norman E. Mack, "Wilson and Marshall—Mr. Bryan and New York," *National Monthly Magazine*, IV (Aug., 1912), 65.

<sup>10</sup> Mary B. Bryan, ed., *Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Philadelphia and Chicago, 1925), pp. 161–66, has an interesting discussion of Bryan's activities during this period.

Murphy and his Tammany cohorts and thereby forestall any chance Wilson might have of securing the New York delegation.<sup>11</sup> McCombs therefore immediately forwarded to Wilson a suggested reply to Bryan's query which embodied the essence of a statement Wilson had already made to the Baltimore *Evening Sun*.<sup>12</sup>

But Wilson, at the insistence of Joseph P. Tumulty, his secretary, William G. McAdoo, and his wife, gave a straightforward answer to the Commoner. "You are quite right," he asserted. "The Baltimore convention is to be a convention of progressives—of men who are progressive in principle and by conviction," which must, moreover, "express its convictions in its organization and in its choice of the men who are to speak for it."<sup>13</sup> Wilson's statement was a masterful move, for it marked him at the very outset of the convention as one of the progressive leaders with backbone. Champ Clark, on the other hand, attempted to hedge by a noncommittal appeal for party harmony.<sup>14</sup>

On Sunday and Monday, June 23 and 24, the Democratic hosts descended upon Baltimore, traditional scene of Democratic gatherings. "It is of good augury that once more we meet in the glorious metropolis of Maryland," old "Marse Henry" Watterson wrote. "Noble city! In deep reflection the spirit of democracy walks thy streets this day; broods amid thy solitudes."<sup>15</sup> But the solitude within the historic city was rudely shattered by the incoming Democrats. Tammany Hall, led by Murphy and August Belmont, came in a special train. Thomas Fortune Ryan arrived under cover of the night and quietly slipped into his rooms.

The arrival of the Democrats was the signal for the traditional bargaining among the presidential managers to begin, or rather to become intensified. The temporary chairmanship became the outstanding issue of the day when, in a plenary meeting of the national committee, the Clark representatives combined with Tammany Hall and the conservatives to defeat the nomination of Ollie M. James of Kentucky<sup>16</sup> in favor of Parker for the temporary

<sup>11</sup> William Gibbs McAdoo, *Crowded Years* (Boston and New York, 1931), pp. 137-41, gives a good account of McCombs' attitude.

<sup>12</sup> Before Bryan sent his appeal to the candidates, the *Evening Sun* had requested that Wilson give his views regarding the temporary chairmanship contest. Wilson replied instantly that "My friends in Baltimore, who are on the ground, will know how to act in the interest of the people's cause in everything that affects the organization of the convention. They are certain not to forget their standards as they have already shown. It is not necessary that I should remind them of those standards from Sea Girt; and I have neither the right nor the desire to direct the organization of a convention of which I am not even a member." Undated letter in Woodrow Wilson Papers (manuscripts in the Library of Congress); hereinafter cited as Wilson Papers.

<sup>13</sup> Original draft in *ibid*; see also *New York World*, June 23, 1912.

<sup>14</sup> *Commoner* (Lincoln, Neb.), XII (June 28, 1912), 1.

<sup>15</sup> Louisville *Courier-Journal*, cited in *Pensacola Journal*, July 4, 1912.

<sup>16</sup> James was an ardent Clark supporter.

chairmanship.<sup>17</sup> This seemingly unnatural and, to many progressives, immoral alliance between Clark's managers and Tammany fomented suspicions that the Speaker's managers had concluded a bargain with Murphy by which the Clark delegations would support Parker for the temporary chairmanship and New York's ninety votes would come to the Missourian at a propitious moment in the balloting.<sup>18</sup> Probably this was the truth of the matter, for the Clark forces held the key to the temporary chairmanship. Clark's managers could either defeat Bryan or they could aid him in smashing the plan of the few conservatives to control the convention. But these conservatives controlled enough votes to give Clark a majority of the delegates in the convention while Bryan did not. Moreover, the Clark men had a very real dread that should the Commoner win his fight against Parker by an overwhelming vote he would be unbeatable as a presidential candidate himself.<sup>19</sup>

The tremendous crowd in Convention Hall, gathered for the first session of the convention on the afternoon of June 25, became hushed as the venerable Cardinal Gibbons invoked the blessing of God upon the deliberations of the body. The prayer was the lull before the storm. Chairman Mack rapped his gavel vigorously for order. He had been instructed by the national committee, he said, to nominate Alton B. Parker for temporary chairman.<sup>20</sup> Bryan was immediately on his feet. Standing on the convention platform, "His heavy black brows . . . contracted over his piercing eyes,"<sup>21</sup> the Nebraskan nominated Senator John W. Kern of Indiana, his running mate in 1908, as the man most worthy of the confidence of the convention. Bryan declared that now the hour of Democratic triumph had arrived, a true progressive should lead the convention in the keynote address. The Democrats were announcing to the country, he insisted, whether they would take up the challenge thrown down at Chicago by a convention controlled by "predatory wealth," or answer it by giving themselves over to the same sinister forces. The dramatic climax in Bryan's speech came suddenly. "The Democratic

<sup>17</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 490.

<sup>18</sup> Dallas *Morning News*, June 25, 1912; Robert Latham in *Charleston News and Courier*, June 25, 1912; W. E. Gonzales in *Columbia State*, June 25, 1912; Alexander Forward in *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 25, 1912; *St. Louis Republic*, June 25, 26, 1912.

<sup>19</sup> Arthur Krock in *Louisville Times*, June 25, 1912. Senator-elect James K. Vardaman of Mississippi was selected by the Parker forces to offer the olive branch of compromise to Bryan. It was a wise selection, for Vardaman had for years been an intimate friend and loyal follower of the Nebraskan. He offered Bryan the permanent chairmanship of the convention if the Commoner would accept Parker as temporary chairman. Bryan became so "frigid," according to one report, that Vardaman picked up his hat and started to leave the room. Turning again to the Commoner, he said, "I thought our personal and political relations were intimate enough to permit me to talk about the matter to you." Bryan, smiling sadly, put his hand on the Mississippian's shoulder and told him that he had not meant to hurt him, but that he could not possibly consent to such an agreement. *Birmingham Age-Herald*, June 24, 1912.

<sup>20</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>21</sup> *New York World*, June 26, 1912.

party is true to the people," he declared. "You cannot frighten it with your Ryans nor buy it with your Belmonts." This palpable defiance electrified the convention and at this point Bryan should have sat down; but he went on in a sort of anticlimactic exhortation of Parker.<sup>22</sup>

Senator Kern rose gravely and made a dramatic appeal to Parker to withdraw from the contest and declared that if the New York delegation would agree to support either Senator James A. O'Gorman, Senator Culbertson, Henry D. Clayton, Luke Lea, or Joseph W. Folk, all discord would cease. When there was no answer to Kern's proffered compromise, the Indiana senator withdrew from the contest and nominated Bryan himself.<sup>23</sup> The convention was in an uproar. Theodore Bell of California, who rose to answer Kern, was overwhelmed by a torrent of noise from the Wilson delegates. Representative John J. Fitzgerald of New York seemed to have arrested the confusion and was delivering some telling blows for Parker when Cullen F. Thomas of Texas climbed into his chair and yelled, "Are you the distinguished New York Congressman who supported Joe Cannon?" This pointed interruption ended Fitzgerald's speech.<sup>24</sup> The convention was anxious to vote, but Bryan pleaded for five additional minutes of discussion before the roll call. Cone Johnson of Texas pushed to the front of the speaker's platform and with a voice as loud as a "human fog-horn," quieted the mob. The contest was not between men, he declared, and he did not pause to inquire who caused the fight, for "This one thing I know—the fight is on, and Bryan is on one side and Wall street is on the other."<sup>25</sup>

The convention then proceeded to endorse the national committee and elected Parker temporary chairman by a vote of 579 to 508. The Clark managers were able to deliver enough of their delegates to insure Bryan's defeat, although practically all of the Clark men on the western delegations refused to deal what they considered a treacherous blow against their old leader.<sup>26</sup> They accordingly stood by the Nebraskan, and the Wilson delegates almost to a man voted for the Commoner. Champ Clark himself had remained neutral during the fight but, as Bryan noted, the Speaker's managers were "working like beavers for Judge Parker."<sup>27</sup>

The dramatic conflict between Bryan and Parker was a fitting introduction to the struggles at the Baltimore convention. In the first place, it convinced thousands of progressive Democrats that the fight was on between Wilson and Bryan on the one hand, and Clark, Wall Street, and Tammany

<sup>22</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 3-7.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9. <sup>24</sup> *Dallas Morning News*, June 26, 1912.

<sup>25</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 13. <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

<sup>27</sup> William J. Bryan, *A Tale of Two Conventions* (New York and London, 1912), p. 192.



on the other. It furthermore convinced Bryan that his old friend Champ Clark would without hesitation desert him for the support of New York.

But the victory of the Tammany-Clark alliance was a Pyrrhic one. A move by the Murphy organization to retain Parker as permanent chairman was quickly detected and blocked by former Governor Thomas M. Campbell of Texas. At the insistence of the Wilson men, Ollie M. James was chosen permanent chairman by the committee on arrangements, and Bryan was delighted.<sup>28</sup> Urey Woodson was ousted as secretary of the convention and Edward E. Britton, city editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer*, was chosen in his stead.<sup>29</sup>

Progressive sentiment was rising in the convention; and the first important progressive victory occurred in the abrogation of the ironclad unit rule in the voting of certain state delegations. The occasion for the fight arose when the committee on rules decreed that nineteen Wilson delegates from Ohio had to vote for Governor Harmon because the state Democratic convention had thus instructed. The chairman of the rules committee, J. Harry Covington of Maryland, argued that the traditional Democratic usage should not be changed, that the national convention had no right to interfere in the internal party affairs of the states.<sup>30</sup>

Robert L. Henry presented the minority report of the committee,<sup>31</sup> but the foremost champion of the abrogation of the unit rule was Newton D. Baker, mayor of Cleveland. In an impassioned appeal to the convention, Baker declared that the law of Ohio had taken from the state convention the authority to select delegates to a national convention and had vested it in the people. He had given a sacred pledge to his constituents that he would vote for Wilson. Would the convention force him to betray the trust the people had confided in him?<sup>32</sup> Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi lost his temper. If the convention adopted the majority report, he declared, it would do "the most dangerous and most damnable thing" in its power. And "when you get through with it you can quit your talk about 'popular government,'" he shouted.<sup>33</sup>

When John W. Peck of Ohio attempted to defend the majority report he mentioned Wilson's name and set off a wild demonstration by the Wilson delegates.<sup>34</sup> Robert L. Henry, Wilson floor leader, sensed the rising Wilson enthusiasm and after the demonstration had subsided announced that Vir-

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>29</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 120; *Dallas Morning News*, June 27, 1912.

<sup>30</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65-68. <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>34</sup> *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 27, 1912.

ginia, "the mother of the doctrine of state sovereignty," had signed the minority report.<sup>85</sup> Largely because of the support the Wilson men received from Mississippi, Virginia, Florida, and Alabama—the Underwood delegations—they succeeded in turning the tables on the Clark men. The convention, by a vote of 565½ to 492⅓, adopted the minority report.<sup>86</sup> This decided Wilson victory was an effective antidote to the growing belief that Clark was certain to be nominated. It demonstrated to the convention and to the country at large that the Wilson delegates, although in a decided minority, were united and fired with something like an evangelical zeal for the Wilson cause.

A minor episode in the struggle at Baltimore concerned the disposition of the South Dakota delegation. Two delegations from that state, one representing Wilson, the other Clark, presented their claims as the rightful delegation to the credentials committee on June 26. Clark supporters, who controlled the committee, voted to seat the Clark delegation. In the meantime another contest had come before the credentials committee. Two delegations from Cook County, Illinois—one group representing Roger Sullivan, the Illinois Democratic boss, the other representing the Hearst-Carter Harrison Chicago organization—claimed to be the lawful representatives from Chicago. Luke Lea, spokesman for the Wilson forces in the committee, made a bargain with Sullivan whereby the Wilson delegates would support Sullivan and the Illinois boss would vote to seat the Wilson delegation from South Dakota.<sup>87</sup> Consequently the Sullivan delegates were seated by the credentials committee and when the South Dakota issue was considered by the convention, Sullivan threw the weight of Illinois's fifty-eight votes to the Wilson men and they were seated.<sup>88</sup>

As a result of the Wilson successes in the struggle for the abrogation of the unit rule and for the South Dakota delegation, there followed a decided reaction in the convention against the Clark-Tammany alliance. It was apparent that the progressives had taken on a new lease of life. But Bryan suspected that the conservatives were only biding their time and waiting for the propitious moment to strike. "I found that the representatives of Morgan, Belmont, and Ryan were at work," he later recorded.<sup>89</sup>

The fact that Thomas Fortune Ryan, one of the financial czars of Wall

<sup>85</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 75; see also *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 27, 1912.

<sup>86</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 77.

<sup>87</sup> *Charlotte Daily Observer*, June 27, 1912; *Houston Post*, June 28, 1912.

<sup>88</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 93–94. The importance of the Sullivan-Lea bargain has not been generally recognized. First of all, it added ten votes to the growing number of Wilson delegates, but more important, it assured Sullivan's dominance in the Illinois delegation and enabled him later to cast the fifty-eight Illinois votes for Wilson at a very crucial moment in the balloting.

<sup>89</sup> *Mary B. Bryan*, p. 173.

Street, was sitting as a delegate from Virginia was a matter of severe embarrassment to Senator Claude A. Swanson and other leaders in the Virginia organization.<sup>40</sup> In the first place, Ryan had secured membership in the Virginia delegation through trickery.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, Ryan's activities were of a suspicious character. One reporter charged that the Virginia financier was the "captain-general of the plutocrats" who were in Baltimore to depose Bryan as Democratic leader and to prevent Wilson's nomination.<sup>42</sup>

At three o'clock on Thursday morning, June 27, Charles W. Bryan told his brother that Clark's managers had concluded an agreement with Tammany whereby New York's ninety votes would be delivered to Clark at some time early in the balloting. This agreement, Charles W. Bryan insisted, would place the party under obligation to Wall Street and would prevent Clark from carrying out a progressive program were he elected president. In order to see if the Clark organization would stand by Wall Street instead of the Commoner, he would have one of the progressive leaders introduce a resolution to expel Ryan and August Belmont from the convention. Charles W. Bryan told his brother that he would call together the Wilson leaders and endeavor to persuade one of them to introduce the resolution. William J. Bryan approved of the plan.<sup>43</sup>

Charles W. Bryan soon afterward called together Thomas P. Gore, Luke Lea, Cone Johnson, Jerry B. Sullivan, Harvey Garber, and Henderson Martin. These Wilson leaders unanimously agreed that the proposed resolution demanding Ryan's and Belmont's expulsion from the convention was too harsh and furthermore unwise. None volunteered to introduce it.<sup>44</sup> Charles W. was consequently discouraged when he saw his brother at his hotel Thursday evening. At Charles W.'s suggestion, the Commoner wrote out a resolution which specifically named Belmont, Morgan, and Ryan as conspirators of Wall Street. W. J. Bryan was not certain that he would introduce the resolution when he started to the evening session of the convention, but on the way he decided to take the fateful step.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Richmond News Leader*, June 28, 1912.

<sup>41</sup> At a meeting of the Tenth District committee at the Democratic state convention at Norfolk in May the anti-Wilson men, led by Hal D. Flood, greatly outnumbered the Wilson supporters. Flood, who was regarded as Ryan's chief lieutenant, made an agreement with the Wilson men to divide evenly between the two groups the district's delegates to the national convention. There would be no election, as the offer went, but each group would choose its own man. Astonished at this seeming liberality, the Wilson men gladly accepted the offer. The organization faction then announced that they had selected Ryan to represent them. At the time, Ryan's son was present, and the Wilson men supposed it was he who had been chosen as delegate. The secret was well kept and it was no little surprise to the Wilson delegates from Virginia to discover that the financier was a member of their delegation. Carter W. Wormley in *Richmond News Leader*, June 27, 1912.

<sup>42</sup> Samuel G. Blythe, in *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, June 27, 1912.

<sup>43</sup> Charles W. Bryan in *New York Times*, Mar. 6, 1921.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>45</sup> Mary B. Bryan, pp. 175-76.

In the convention on the evening of June 27, therefore, Bryan arose and asked unanimous consent to introduce a resolution. When there was no objection, Bryan read the following words:

*Resolved*, That in this crisis in our party's career and in our country's history this convention sends greeting to the people of the United States, and assures them that the party of Jefferson and of Jackson is still the champion of popular government and equality before the law. As proof of our fidelity to the people, we hereby declare ourselves opposed to the nomination of any candidate for president who is the representative of or under obligation to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class.

*Be it further resolved*, That we demand the withdrawal from this convention of any delegate or delegates constituting or representing the above-named interests.<sup>46</sup>

It seemed as if all the furies of hell had broken loose on the convention floor. Scores of delegates leaped to their feet, demanding recognition.<sup>47</sup> When the uproar finally subsided, Bryan defended his resolution. "There is not a delegate in this convention who does not know that an effort is being made right now to sell the Democratic party into bondage to the predatory interests of the nation," he shouted. "It is the most brazen, the most insolent, the most impudent attempt that has been made in the history of American politics . . . to make the nominee the bond-slave of the men who exploit the people of this country." Bryan was now quite red in the face. If the New York and Virginia delegates would take an "honest poll" of their delegations, and if a majority of both states did not ask for Ryan's and Belmont's withdrawal, Bryan promised that he would expunge the latter part of his resolution.<sup>48</sup>

As Bryan concluded, Hal Flood of Virginia forced his way up to the speaker's platform. As he came up to Bryan's side the Commoner turned and held out his hand. Flood looked squarely at Bryan, made an angry rejoinder with a vigorous shake of his head, and rejected the proffered hand. He stepped nearer to Bryan and shouted that Virginia accepted "the insolent proposition made by the only man who wants to destroy the prospect of Democratic success."<sup>49</sup> Bryan then declared that Virginia had notified him that she wanted the expulsion resolution withdrawn. He asked that a delegate from New York speak for his delegation.<sup>50</sup> Former Governor W. A. McCorkle of West Virginia shouted from the platform, "This is a senseless and foolish resolution." Bryan tried to speak, but his voice was drowned in

<sup>46</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 129.

<sup>47</sup> Josephus Daniels to the author, Jan. 24, 1942; McAdoo, p. 149; Mary B. Bryan, pp. 176-77.

<sup>48</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 131-32.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132; *New York World*, June 28, 1912.

<sup>50</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 133.



a roar of hisses and catcalls. Flood was back on the platform. The Virginia delegation asked nothing of Bryan, he declared. If the Commoner withdrew the second part of his resolution, it was not at Virginia's request.<sup>51</sup>

Bryan was in a difficult position. Obviously he wished to withdraw the expulsion resolution, for if it remained, the entire resolution would probably be defeated, and when James K. Vardaman suggested that he withdraw the latter part, Bryan gladly did so.<sup>52</sup> The Commoner hastily demanded a roll call. While the vote was being recorded, Vardaman hurried over to Boss Murphy and urged him to vote for the resolution. "If you do, Murphy, we will make Bryan look like a fool," he urged. After consulting with Sullivan and Thomas Taggart, Democratic boss of Indiana, Murphy cast New York's vote for the resolution.<sup>53</sup> The Tammany leader, with a sly grin on his face, turned to August Belmont and said, "August, listen and hear yourself vote yourself out of the convention."<sup>54</sup> The emasculated anti-Morgan-Belmont-Ryan resolution was overwhelmingly endorsed by the convention.<sup>55</sup>

Back of the scenes at Baltimore the Wilson and Clark men were working furiously. The Wilson leaders realized that only by shrewd strategy could they overcome the power of the forces arrayed against them and nominate their candidate. The general outline of the strategy was clear. The Wilson men had to hold at least a loyal third of the delegates in order to block the first major threat—Champ Clark's nomination. Several weeks before the Baltimore convention assembled, Wilson had designated McCombs as leader of his forces at Baltimore and A. Mitchell Palmer and Albert S. Burleson as official floor leaders in the convention.<sup>56</sup> At a meeting of the "General Staff" in McCombs' apartment in the Emerson Hotel immediately preceding the balloting for the nomination, the Wilson managers counseled together and pledged to one another their loyalty. Immediately afterward Thomas Watts Gregory and Thomas B. Love of Texas went to the Hotel Stafford and sought out the members of the Pennsylvania delegation. The Texans and Pennsylvanians agreed that the two delegations should work hand in hand in the convention and that the individual delegates would immediately set to work to persuade the Clark delegates to swing over to Wilson.<sup>57</sup>

During the night and early morning of June 27 and 28 the nominations for president were made. It was nearly midnight and the teeming auditorium

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *New York World*, June 28, 1912.

<sup>54</sup> Mary B. Bryan, p. 178.

<sup>55</sup> By a vote of 883 to 201½. *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 137-38.

<sup>56</sup> R. S. Baker, "Memorandum of a Conversation with Albert S. Burleson, March 17-19, 1927," in the Ray Stannard Baker Papers (manuscripts in the Library of Congress); hereinafter cited as Baker Papers.

<sup>57</sup> Thomas W. Gregory to Edward M. House, July 9, 1912, pp. 768-75 below.

was sultry and hot; the riotous disturbance over Bryan's inflammable anti-Morgan-Belmont-Ryan resolution had scarcely been quieted when Chairman Ollie M. James called for nominations for president. Alabama was the first state to be called and made the first nomination. William B. Bankhead presented Alabama's "favorite son" and the Deep South's representative, Oscar W. Underwood, as the chief exponent of tariff reform and attempted to convince the convention that since there was no North, no South, the Alabamian was ideally available as a presidential candidate.<sup>58</sup> When Arkansas was called she yielded to Missouri. Senator James A. Reed, in a flamboyant nominating speech, presented Champ Clark's claims to the Democratic nomination.<sup>59</sup> The Clark forces, at the end of Reed's address, staged an enthusiastic demonstration which lasted for one hour and five minutes.<sup>60</sup> After the nomination of Governor Simeon E. Baldwin of Connecticut by Henry Wade Rogers, dean of the Yale Law School, the call of the states was resumed. At eight minutes after two Delaware yielded to New Jersey and Judge John Wescott came forward to nominate Woodrow Wilson. The lateness of the hour and the weariness of the delegates did not dampen the enthusiasm of the Wilson men. In fact, they did not give Wescott a chance to speak before they began a wild, uncontrolled demonstration which lasted at least one hour and fifteen minutes.<sup>61</sup> Wescott, in a magnificent tribute to Wilson, nominated the New Jersey governor for president as "the ultimate Democrat, the genius of liberty and the very incarnation of progress."<sup>62</sup> There was quite a volley of seconding speeches and day was breaking when Governor Marshall of Indiana and Governor Harmon of Ohio were nominated. It was about seven o'clock in the morning when the first ballot was taken. The ballot stood:<sup>63</sup>

Clark	440½	Marshall	31
Wilson	324	Baldwin	22
Underwood	117½	Sulzer	2
Harmon	148	Bryan	1

The convention, having set the stage for the great struggle, then adjourned.

When the delegates assembled in the afternoon, the lines were tightly drawn for the coming battle. McCombs, nervous and excited, was in charge of the Wilson forces. On the speaker's platform A. Mitchell Palmer stood by the chairman's side and bespoke Wilson's interests. On the convention floor

<sup>58</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 143. See also *Birmingham Age-Herald*, June 28, 1912.

<sup>59</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 144-51.

<sup>60</sup> *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 28, 1912; *New York Times*, June 28, 1912.

<sup>61</sup> *Trenton True American*, June 28, 1912; *Trenton Evening Times*, June 28, 1912.

<sup>62</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 157-61.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

Burleson was in command of the Wilson delegates. Blind Senator Gore and McAdoo were constantly at Burleson's side, while Representative William Hughes of New Jersey and Thomas J. Pence of North Carolina gave aid to Palmer.<sup>64</sup>

During the first nine ballots little change in the voting occurred. Clark gained some fourteen votes and Wilson's strength increased by twenty-eight votes, but the managers were only sparring. The Wilson men knew that the knockout blow was yet to come. They expected that New York's ninety votes would be delivered to Clark on the third or fourth ballot but were forewarned by their friends in the New York delegation when Murphy decided to transfer the votes to the Missourian at a later time.<sup>65</sup> The expected transfer came on the tenth ballot when the Tammany leader electrified the convention by casting his state's ninety votes for the Speaker.<sup>66</sup> It was the signal for a Clark landslide, for New York's vote gave Clark 556 votes—well over a majority of the convention. It was now or never for Clark. Not since 1844 had a Democrat obtained a majority in a national convention and not been nominated by the then necessary two thirds.

Clark's managers fully expected that this powerful tradition, in addition to the irresistible momentum generated by New York's action, would bring about the Speaker's nomination on the tenth or eleventh ballot and the Clark delegates naturally were beside themselves with joy. They shouted, sang, and marched for almost an hour. It was a discouraging hour for Woodrow Wilson. His managers scurried over the convention hall, pleading with the Underwood delegations not to go over to Clark. What would the states following New York do? As soon as the Clark demonstration had subsided, North Dakota was called. An expectant silence fell over the great crowd. When the steady response, "Ten for Wilson," followed, the Wilson delegates let out a wild yell. Chairman James then called Oklahoma. One Oklahoman was on his feet. He had voted for Wilson, he declared, but since it seemed that Clark was the convention's choice he demanded a poll of his delegation. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray—collarless and wiping his face with a red bandana handkerchief—roared out that he did not object to a poll of the delegation,

<sup>64</sup> Otto Praeger, "How Winning Fight for Wilson Was Made," *Dallas Morning News*, July 3, 1912.

<sup>65</sup> W. G. McAdoo to R. S. Baker, Oct. 15, 1928, Baker Papers. One of the leaders of the New York delegation afterward wrote that "New York, after the ninth ballot, turned to Clark in preference to Wilson because many of the friends of the Missouri statesman had given their support to New York's candidate for temporary chairman in the meeting of the subcommittee, again in the National Committee and on the floor of the convention, and had put the New York delegation under an obligation to him which New York—in full recognition of the highest party welfare—could honorably repay." Mack in *National Monthly Magazine*, IV, 65.

<sup>66</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 221. New York voted for Harmon on the first nine ballots.

but, he declared, "we do insist that we shall not join Tammany in making the nomination!"<sup>67</sup> Oklahoma stood firm and the Wilson men began a wild counterdemonstration that lasted fully fifty-five minutes.

The tenth ballot continued without any further material change in the voting. When, on the eleventh ballot, the Underwood delegations stood firm, it became suddenly apparent that Clark's expected landslide had signally failed to materialize. Manifestly, the Underwood delegates, by standing firm against the Clark onslaught, prevented the nomination of the Missourian. It was true that the one hundred and odd votes Manager John H. Bankhead might have added to Clark's majority would not have given the Speaker the requisite two thirds. But it would have made his nomination inevitable. Why, then, if the Underwood men had the power to decide the contest, did they not effect Clark's nomination? Why did they not accept the vice-presidential nomination for Underwood that the Clark managers probably offered them? In the first place, Wilson, not Clark, was the second choice of a good majority of the Underwood delegates; and in the second place, Underwood and his managers were after nothing less than the presidential nomination. Under no circumstances would Underwood have accepted the vice-presidential nomination.<sup>68</sup> The Underwood delegates still expected that both Clark and Wilson would fail to win the nomination and that it would eventually fall to the Alabamian.

The skillful bargaining of Wilson's managers, moreover, was probably the decisive factor in deciding Clark's defeat. They decided early in the balloting that since the Underwood delegations constituted the balance of power in the convention, it was "absolutely essential that some arrangement should be made with his forces by which we could supplement the Wilson forces with enough votes to block the convention."<sup>69</sup> Gregory, McCombs, and other Wilson managers had long conferences with leaders in the Underwood delegations and promised that if "Wilson should be put out of the race at any stage of the game" they would use their influence to throw the weight of the Wilson forces to the Alabamian. In return, the Underwood men agreed to remain loyal to their candidate.<sup>70</sup> Thus a vote for Underwood was as good as a vote for Wilson and his managers were able to prevent the nomination of Champ Clark.

There yet remained the danger that McCombs, oftentimes nervous and

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>68</sup> This fact is attested to by Underwood's absolute refusal to accept the vice-presidential nomination when Wilson later offered it to him.

<sup>69</sup> Gregory to House, pp. 768-75 below.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*; Thomas P. Gore to the author, Aug. 15, 1942.

panic-stricken, might take a fatal step that would ruin Wilson's chances for the nomination. Senator William J. Stone, Clark's manager, had sent a telegram to Wilson, urging him to withdraw and insisting that party tradition demanded that Clark be nominated. Wilson had previously declared his opposition to the two thirds rule on the ground that it was undemocratic,<sup>71</sup> but that was at a time when it appeared that it would militate against his chances for the nomination. Early Saturday morning, June 29, McCombs called Wilson on the telephone. He was very discouraged and suggested that Wilson give him an authorization to withdraw his name from the balloting. Wilson accordingly sent a telegram to that effect and even considered sending Clark a message of congratulations.<sup>72</sup> Later in the morning, when McAdoo discovered what McCombs had done, he immediately telephoned Wilson and urged him by no means to consider withdrawing from the contest because he was steadily gaining in strength and would eventually be nominated. Wilson authorized McAdoo to countermand the withdrawal authorization he had given McCombs and the danger was averted.<sup>73</sup>

The convention assembled on Saturday—the fifth day—to take up again the laborious and monotonous task of balloting for the nomination. The air was even yet charged with the excitement of the preceding day. Had Clark's managers secured the two hundred votes the Missourian needed for the nomination? The succeeding ballots revealed that they had not. On the twelfth ballot Clark lost seven votes; Wilson lost half a vote. On the thirteenth the Missourian gained seven and a half; Wilson gained two.<sup>74</sup>

Bryan had been profoundly disturbed when Murphy threw New York's strength to Clark on the tenth ballot. Did not this confirm the charge made by his brother that there had been a bargain between Clark's managers and Tammany?<sup>75</sup> A number of the Nebraska delegates demanded that their delegation cease supporting Clark and go to Wilson's aid. Bryan, spokesman of the Nebraskans, hesitated; he thought New York would go to Underwood and Clark would then be nominated by the progressives. But he had promised the Nebraskans that he would not support a Tammany candidate. Consequently he prepared a written statement explaining his change from

<sup>71</sup> Wilson to E. M. House, Oct. 24, 1911, House Papers.

<sup>72</sup> Joseph P. Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson As I Know Him* (Garden City, 1921), p. 121.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 121-22; McAdoo, pp. 153-54; Josephus Daniels to the author, Jan. 24, 1942; Robert S. Hudspeth to R. S. Baker, Nov. 11, 1927, Baker Papers. The evidence to support this position is simply overwhelming. McCombs in his completely unvarnished memoir, *Making Woodrow Wilson President* (New York, 1921), pp. 143-44, relates that he prevented Wilson from withdrawing.

<sup>74</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 226-27, 230-31.

<sup>75</sup> Bryan states that he "never heard anything other than circumstantial evidence to support this charge," and, he says, he never made it himself. Mary B. Bryan, p. 179.

Clark to Wilson which he planned to use when it became necessary for him to desert the Speaker.<sup>76</sup>

On the fourteenth ballot Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock went to the speaker's platform and demanded that Chairman James take an official poll of the Nebraska delegation. When Bryan's name was called, he rose and asked the convention's permission to explain his reason for casting his vote as he was about to cast it. Bryan declared that Nebraska was a progressive state and would not participate in the nomination "of any man whose nomination depends upon the vote of the New York delegation." He declared that he would withhold his vote from Clark so long as New York's vote was recorded for him. Although he cast his vote for Wilson, Bryan declared that he stood ready to withdraw his support from him should New York give him its support.<sup>77</sup>

Bryan's desertion of Clark infuriated the Speaker's supporters. They joined in a terrific onslaught of boos, hisses, and jeers against the Commoner. John B. Stanchfield of New York severely arraigned Bryan and said what many delegates were thinking but not publicly declaring. He shouted that "no man can go forth from this Convention stigmatized and branded with Bryanism, and come within half a million votes of carrying the state of New York."<sup>78</sup> In Washington, Champ Clark was furious. After a conference with his managers and William R. Hearst he gave out a statement declaring that Bryan's charge was "an outrageous aspersion" and demanded immediate "proof or retraction" of Bryan's charges.<sup>79</sup> Clark went in haste to Baltimore to meet Bryan's challenge. Perhaps he might have started a stampede in his favor had he reached the convention in time. But he never got the chance, for the convention adjourned just as he was arriving.<sup>80</sup>

The balloting continued throughout Saturday, June 29. Bryan's conversion to Wilson on the fourteenth ballot did the governor slight immediate good. Although he gained twelve votes from Nebraska, he lost several votes from various delegations. Clark's lines held firmly; he lost only one and a half votes. On the twentieth ballot Kansas cast its twenty votes, which had hitherto been given to Clark, to Wilson.<sup>81</sup> The balloting was tedious and monotonous, but slowly Wilson gained new strength. His gains were so slight as to appear

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>77</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 233-37.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 282-83.

<sup>79</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, June 30, 1912.

<sup>80</sup> Clark never forgave Bryan for his action on the fourteenth ballot. Years later he wrote that the Nebraskan, dishonestly and hypocritically, had endeavored to cause a deadlock "and grab off the nomination for himself." *My Quarter Century of American Politics* (New York and London, 1920), II, 424.

<sup>81</sup> The change in the Kansas vote can hardly be ascribed to Bryan's influence. Wilson was the definite second-choice of the Kansas delegation which had instructions to vote for him when Clark's nomination appeared impossible.

imperceptible; but when the convention adjourned on Saturday at the end of a hectic and exhausting week, Wilson had gained some sixty votes and Clark had lost Massachusetts to Governor Foss and Kansas to Wilson.<sup>82</sup>

June 30 was Sunday and, although the rank and file of the delegates enjoyed a much-needed rest, the political managers redoubled their efforts at the manipulation of bargains and trades. Wilson's opponents charged that his managers were making promises of patronage in order to secure blocs of delegates. Only once during the convention, according to Tumulty, did Wilson betray feelings of irritation. It was when he read these charges in the press.<sup>83</sup> Wilson wanted it understood that he would not be bound by any agreements. "There cannot by any possibility be any trading done in my name; not a single vote can or will be obtained by means of any promise," he declared.<sup>84</sup> His protests were undoubtedly well-meant, but McCombs, Burleson, and the other Wilson managers were on the ground at Baltimore and knew a great deal more about the necessities of the situation than he did. Already they had concluded very important agreements with Roger Sullivan and the Underwood delegations, and other important bargains and "promises" would follow.

Several of Wilson's managers dreaded lest Bryan might, at some dramatic moment, rally the progressives and capture the nomination for himself. His very actions throughout the length of the prenomination campaign led to such suspicions. Many observers thought that his policy of neutrality as between Clark and Wilson was an ill-disguised attempt to prevent either from securing a decisive majority of the convention vote.<sup>85</sup> On June 30, at a time when Wilson was gaining steadily in strength, the Commoner angered Wilson's managers by declaring that there was no reason why the delegates should not conclude their work the following day by nominating a president and vice-president. "There is every reason why the progressives should get together and select a ticket," he declared, adding that either Senator Kern, Ollie James, Senator O'Gorman, Senator Culberson, or Senator Isidor Rayner of Maryland would be an acceptable candidate.<sup>86</sup> Bryan's selection of such

<sup>82</sup> The vote at the end of the twenty-fifth ballot stood: Clark 469, Wilson 405, Underwood 108, Harmon 29, Marshall 30. *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 272.

<sup>83</sup> Tumulty, p. 117.

<sup>84</sup> *New York World*, July 1, 1912.

<sup>85</sup> Carter Glass later wrote that several weeks before the convention Bryan endeavored to persuade him that Wilson's nomination would mean suicide for the Democratic party. By the facility with which the Nebraskan eliminated all other Democratic candidates but himself, Glass concluded that he wanted the nomination for himself. Carter Glass to Maurice F. Lyons, Oct. 27, 1925, copy in Baker Papers. Colonel George Harvey was at the convention and wrote a friend that Bryan was greatly disappointed because he did not think he could be nominated. E. S. Martin to E. M. House, July 24, 1912, House Papers.

<sup>86</sup> *New York Times*, July 1, 1912.



political "light-weights" infuriated the Wilson men who were sure that the Commoner meant, by implication, to put his name at the head of the list. The Wilson leaders, furthermore, resented the fact that not once during the convention did Bryan publicly or privately advocate Wilson's nomination. They remembered that Bryan had voted for Wilson, not because he thought him the best candidate, but simply because New York had voted for Clark. And it is still a moot question whether Bryan had his eye on the nomination.<sup>87</sup>

In the meantime, the Tammany bosses and other conservative leaders, seeing that they could not defeat Wilson by direct assault, endeavored to undermine his strength by drawing away from him his supporters. John J. Fitzgerald and Murphy of Tammany, Roger Sullivan of Illinois, and Thomas Taggart of Indiana attempted to persuade Burleson and Palmer to withdraw Wilson's name from the contest. If they could persuade Wilson to withdraw, Murphy promised, "we will nominate [A. Mitchell] Palmer for President."<sup>88</sup> When this suggestion was instantly rejected by Palmer himself, the Tammany group turned next to the Texas delegation. They thought that if they could draw the Texans from the Wilson ranks the governor's candidacy would collapse. The Tammany men promised to support Culberson for president if the Texas delegation would lead the way by voting for him; but the entire delegation, including Culberson himself, indignantly rejected the suggestion.<sup>89</sup>

On Monday, July 1, the balloting for the presidential nomination was resumed. On the second ballot of the day, Taggart startled the convention by casting Indiana's twenty-nine votes, hitherto given to Marshall, to Wilson. When Iowa took fourteen votes from Clark and cast them for Wilson, he for the first time had a greater vote than Clark.<sup>90</sup> In quick succession the delegations from Vermont, Wyoming, and Michigan left the Clark ranks and joined the growing Wilson forces. Despite the gains made during the day, the Wilson leaders were still uncertain of success. True it was that Wilson had almost five hundred votes and was definitely in the lead. But his managers knew perfectly well that they had come to the end of their rope, that they had corralled practically every vote they could possibly hope to secure, and that unless either Roger Sullivan of Illinois or John H. Bankhead

<sup>87</sup> On the other hand, we have Mary B. Bryan's word that, although she tried to persuade her husband to endeavor to secure the nomination, he refused. M. B. Bryan, pp. 334-35.

<sup>88</sup> R. S. Baker, "Memorandum of Conversation with A. S. Burleson, March 17-19, 1927," Baker Papers.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*; San Antonio Express, July 1, 1912.

<sup>90</sup> The vote on this, the thirtieth ballot, was: Wilson 460, Clark 455, Underwood 121½, Harmon 19. *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 302.

of Alabama committed their delegations to him, the Wilson movement would collapse as surely as had Clark's.

Sullivan had probably looked with favor upon the prospect of Wilson's nomination from the beginning. His son, a Princeton alumnus and an ardent Wilson supporter, had argued Wilson's cause consistently with his father.<sup>91</sup> The Illinois boss promised McCombs that when the Wilson men had secured sufficient strength to make Wilson's nomination appear probable he would come to their aid.<sup>92</sup> Something more than simple altruism motivated this veteran politician. In the first place, the Hearst-Harrison faction of the Illinois Democracy, Sullivan's archenemies, had first claims on Champ Clark, and Sullivan knew that if the Speaker were elected President he would receive few favors from the White House. It was better to support Wilson who was not particularly his friend, Sullivan may have reasoned, than to give aid and comfort to his enemies. Moreover, the Illinois boss had not forgotten that the aid he received from the Wilson men in the contest over the Chicago delegation had enabled him to secure complete control of that delegation. And Roger Sullivan was not a man who forgot his "friends." On the first ballot taken in the convention on Tuesday, July 2, Sullivan accordingly fulfilled the promise he had made to the Wilson men on the preceding day and cast Illinois's fifty-eight votes for Wilson and gave the governor a majority of the convention vote.<sup>93</sup>

In the meantime Willard Saulsbury of Delaware had been assiduously pleading with the Democratic leaders from Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, and Virginia to cast in their lot with Wilson. McCombs, Saulsbury, and Senator John W. Smith of Maryland met on the evening of June 30 with representatives from these states who agreed that when the most favorable opportunity to nominate Wilson arose they would transfer their delegations to him.<sup>94</sup> Senator Clarence E. Watson of West Virginia decided to deliver his state's votes to Wilson,<sup>95</sup> while Senator Thomas S. Martin startled the Virginia delegation by suggesting that they vote as a unit for Wilson. The Virginia Wilson men, who had consistently fought the application of the unit rule when it would have been a disadvantage to them, objected, but Martin was adamant and insisted that the state give its unanimous support to its native son.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>91</sup> The *Trenton True American*, July 6, 1912, has an interesting discussion of this point.

<sup>92</sup> Thomas P. Gore to the author, Aug. 15, 1942.

<sup>93</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 337.

<sup>94</sup> Lyons, pp. 98-100.

<sup>95</sup> Memorandum of Charles H. Grasty in Baker Papers. Watson agreed to support Wilson if Grasty would give him full credit in the *Baltimore Sun* for his action. Grasty was happy to publicize Watson's swing-over to Wilson.

<sup>96</sup> *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 3, 1912.

The dramatic swing-over of Illinois to Wilson on the forty-third ballot was the signal for Watson and Martin to act. When Virginia was called Martin arose and delivered Virginia's twenty-four votes to Wilson. Immediately afterward, Watson, one of the original anti-Wilson men, made his peace with the progressives and cast West Virginia's sixteen votes for the New Jersey governor. Although Wilson now had over six hundred votes his chances of securing the nomination were not entirely certain. The loyal Clark and Underwood delegates, together with New York's ninety votes, proscribed by Bryan, could easily maintain a deadlock and block forever Wilson's nomination.

The Underwood leaders were even yet hopeful that the Alabamian would be nominated. Sullivan, according to several accounts, promised Bankhead that he would deliver the Illinois delegation to Underwood sometime during July 2. But when the forty-fifth ballot passed and Sullivan did not fulfill his promise, Bankhead, J. Thomas Heflin, and Henry D. Clayton decided that it was time to call his hand. When they asked Sullivan what he intended to do, the old veteran replied that he was going to swing Illinois back to Clark on the forty-sixth ballot.<sup>97</sup>

The forty-fifth ballot marked the major crisis for Wilson at Baltimore. Burleson and McCombs were convinced that if he could not gain the support of the Underwood delegations, Wilson would surely be defeated. Burleson was greatly excited and pleaded with Bankhead to release the Underwood delegates.<sup>98</sup> Bankhead, Heflin, and Clayton immediately decided to withdraw Underwood's name. This, they believed, would break the deadlock and result in Wilson's nomination.<sup>99</sup> When Alabama was called on the forty-sixth ballot, Senator Bankhead went quickly to the platform and withdrew Underwood's name. The convention was by this time in wild confusion. Senator Stone released the Clark delegates but announced that Missouri would cast her last vote for "old Champ Clark." John J. Fitzgerald of New York moved that Wilson be nominated by acclamation. Senator Reed objected; Missouri had no resentment toward Governor Wilson, but she must insist on casting her last ballot for Clark. The Harmon delegates were released and Wilson received 990 votes on the forty-sixth ballot. Amid the wildest confusion and

<sup>97</sup> Birmingham *Age-Herald*, July 4, 5, 7, 1912. Clark, who was following the events of the convention in Washington, made a hurried visit to Baltimore when he learned that Sullivan had deserted him. Seated in a cab outside the convention hall, Clark pleaded with Sullivan to return to his standard. Sullivan declared that he had promised the Wilson leaders to vote for Wilson, but that he would bring Illinois back to the Clark fold on the forty-sixth ballot. T. P. Gore to the author, Aug. 15, 1942. Clark had probably agreed to recognize Sullivan as leader of the Illinois Democracy in the distribution of the patronage.

<sup>98</sup> New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, July 3, 1912.

<sup>99</sup> C. E. Stewart in Birmingham *Age-Herald*, July 4, 1912.

tumult the governor of New Jersey, at 3:30 in the afternoon of July 2, was made the Democratic nominee for President of the United States.<sup>100</sup>

The delegates were completely exhausted and wanted to go home as quickly as possible. The Wilson managers were almost physical wrecks; McCombs had had hardly an hour's sound sleep for more than a week.<sup>101</sup> But two important tasks had yet to be completed: the nomination of a vice-president and the adoption of a platform. Wilson did not know that McCombs had traded the vice-presidential nomination to Indiana in return for her votes and insisted that Burleson go to Washington and sound out Underwood whom he desired as a running mate.<sup>102</sup> Fortunately for McCombs, Underwood refused to accept the nomination and it was consequently given to Governor Thomas R. Marshall.<sup>103</sup> After adopting a progressive platform,<sup>104</sup> the convention adjourned.

Historians have for some reason or another written that Bryan's decision to vote for Wilson caused the latter's nomination,<sup>105</sup> and now a motion picture has given popularity to this interpretation. Certainly no person acquainted with the history of the Baltimore convention would underestimate the important work done by Bryan during the first struggles in the convention, during which time he became the acknowledged leader of the progressives. His fight against Parker undoubtedly forced a more or less clear-cut alignment between conservatives and progressives before the balloting had begun. It is not the present writer's intention or purpose to imply that Bryan did not have a considerable share in achieving Wilson's nomination; he desires, how-

<sup>100</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, pp. 345-53.

<sup>101</sup> Gregory to House, pp. 768-75 below.

<sup>102</sup> R. S. Baker, "Memorandum of Conversation with A. S. Burleson, March 17-19, 1927," Baker Papers.

<sup>103</sup> *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 388.

<sup>104</sup> The platform attacked the Republican protective tariff policy and promised that the Democrats would enact laws to destroy the trusts and regulate business; it commended the proposed amendments for the adoption of the income tax and direct election of senators; it pledged the Democratic candidate to the principle of a single term; and it voiced Democratic opposition to the Aldrich plan or the establishment of a centralized banking system. With the blessing of Samuel Gompers, the Democrats adopted a plank which demanded jury trial in cases of criminal contempt of court and declared that labor organizations should be exempted from the provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The platform further declared that it was Democratic policy to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government might be established, and commended to the nation numerous other reforms. *Ibid.*, pp. 365-76.

<sup>105</sup> See, for example, Charles Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (Boston and New York, 1926-28), I, 66-67; Arthur D. Howden Smith, *Mr. House of Texas* (New York and London, 1940), pp. 52-53; Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (New York, 1937), II, 422-23; Matthew Josephson, *The President Makers* (New York, 1940), pp. 445-46; Gerald Johnson, *Woodrow Wilson* (New York and London, 1944), p. 66; Dwight L. Dumond, *Roosevelt to Roosevelt* (New York, 1937), p. 100; Louis M. Hacker and Benjamin B. Kendrick, *The United States since 1865* (New York, 1940), p. 452; Jeanette P. Nichols, *Twentieth Century United States* (New York and London, 1943), pp. 161-62.

ever, to emphasize the fact that there were other influences and persons at work which were perhaps just as important. It should be remembered, for example, that by voting for Wilson, Bryan did not deal the deathblow to the Clark candidacy, for by the fourteenth ballot Clark's candidacy was a great deal less menacing than it had been on the tenth. He had already shown that he could not, under the best possible circumstances, win two thirds of the convention. Clark's boom was headed off, then, not by Bryan's belated action, but by virtue of the fact that the Wilson and Underwood delegates co-operated and held their ground. Consequently the threat of Clark's nomination had passed when Bryan announced his vote for Wilson. If Bryan had been intent upon destroying Clark's chances for the nomination, it does appear logical that he would have come out against him on the eleventh, not the fourteenth ballot. In the second place, the balloting which followed Bryan's shift to Wilson further revealed that the Commoner's action had only an inconsequential effect on the voting. The reason for this is quite clear: Bryan's influence among the various delegations from the Underwood states and from the Northeast was practically nonexistent; his influence was strongest among the Clark delegations of the West whom he alienated by his desertion of the Speaker. As a result of Bryan's voting for Wilson, the governor eventually gained—by a liberal estimate—thirteen from Nebraska, fourteen from Iowa, and six from Wyoming—in all only thirty-three votes and certainly not of sufficient importance to warrant the statement of a distinguished historian that "Bryan gave the word at last and Wilson was nominated."<sup>108</sup> As a matter of fact, Bryan was really on the periphery during the convention as far as the Wilson managers were concerned. He never once identified himself with the Wilson leaders and never participated in their deliberations. The truth of the matter was that after his action on the fourteenth ballot, Bryan played a role of inconsequential importance in the convention.

It is a part of the general irony of history that the nomination of Woodrow Wilson was made possible by the very men who had been his bitterest antagonists and who represented the forces against which he was struggling. Assuredly it must be indelibly clear that without the support of the master politicians and political bosses—Roger Sullivan, Tom Taggart, Clarence E. Watson, Thomas S. Martin, and John H. Bankhead—Woodrow Wilson would not have received the Democratic nomination in 1912. It can be said with certainty that Wilson's nomination was not due to the work or influence

<sup>108</sup> William E. Dodd, "The Social and Economic Background of Wilson," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXV (Mar., 1917), 279.

of any single man or group of men. It is a long story from George Harvey's Lotos Club speech in 1906, suggesting Wilson for the presidency, to the Baltimore convention. Wilson's own political activities brought him first into the public consciousness; the labors of the little group of men in the national organization at 42 Broadway in New York City furthered his presidential movement; the important work of state politicians and editors won him support among the people; Bryan's fight at Baltimore emphasized the progressive character of Wilson's leadership and generated a widespread popular agitation for his nomination; the Underwood delegates helped prevent Clark's nomination at a critical time and, later during the balloting, definitely turned the tide in Wilson's favor; and, finally, the support of machine politicians brought over the votes without which Wilson could never have been nominated.

# Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Harbinger of Fascism

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO\*

AN original thinker, like a prophet, is without honor not only in his own country but also in his own time. This is especially true when the original thinker is an inharmonious genius at odds both with the orthodox upholders of the established order and with the other heretics who repudiate it. Only rarely, very rarely, does such a genius arise to confound the orthodox and to confuse the heterodox. He becomes the great misunderstood of his generation; and for this reason the true importance and real contribution of the inharmonious genius are not seen until future events reveal them. There is no better example in history of such a man than that of Rousseau, the great heretic of the eighteenth century, who was persecuted by the authorities and spurned by his fellow heretics, the philosophes. Proudhon, like Rousseau, was an inharmonious genius. In his day Proudhon was persecuted by the government as a revolutionist and was denounced by his fellow revolutionists, the liberals and socialists, who uneasily felt that, though he was with them, he was not of them. They were puzzled and disconcerted by "*ce socialiste original, mal compris de ses contemporains, fantastique, plein d'idées souvent d'une perspicacité incroyable.*"<sup>1</sup>

Pierre Joseph Proudhon was born in 1809, in Besançon, France. His father was a humble artisan, a cooper by trade, who could do little to educate his son. Even as a child Proudhon was obliged to help his family, which he did by working sometimes on a farm, sometimes in the local inn. An opportunity to get an education came to him when he was given a scholarship in the local college at Besançon. Despite his marked inclination for study, family needs compelled Proudhon to leave college before graduating. He learned the printer's trade which, for a time, was his regular vocation. Proudhon's passionate interest, however, was study, and the interruption of his education by poverty incensed the ardent young student. "Poverty is no crime; it is something worse," was his resentful thought. He began to question the social

\*The author is professor of history in the College of the City of New York. He desires to acknowledge the assistance given to him by Dr. Henry W. Ehrmann in doing the research for this article.

<sup>1</sup> Hendrik N. Boon, *Rêve et réalité dans l'oeuvre économique et sociale de Napoléon III* (La Haye, 1936), p. 54.



order which put so many difficulties in the way of a poor boy seeking an education. Paris beckoned the ambitious young provincial as, in the eighteenth century, it had beckoned that other ambitious young provincial, Diderot. At the age of thirty Proudhon came to Paris, where he began his career as a writer, supported in part by a small stipend granted to him by the college in Besançon. Poverty, however, drove him back to his native city, where he set himself up in the printing business. But the enterprise did not prosper, and he gave it up. In 1847 Proudhon returned to Paris to resume his career as a writer, which he followed all the rest of his life.

Proudhon was almost entirely a self-educated man. He sought to give himself the necessary preparation for becoming a writer on social subjects by omnivorous reading. As in the case of many another self-educated man Proudhon's reading was wide but unsystematic. It lacked the disciplined concentration and definite direction that characterizes scholarly study. Curiously enough he drew his inspiration not from the rich intellectual treasury of France but, as he said, from "the Bible first of all, then Adam Smith, and finally Hegel,"<sup>2</sup> an odd assortment of masters for anyone, especially for a French revolutionist.

In 1840 appeared Proudhon's first book, *Qu'est-ce que la propriété*, with its sensational answer, *La propriété, c'est le vol*. Both question and answer almost immediately gained for the author an audience in the France of his day that was seething with revolutionary theories of all kinds. So deep was the discontent with the regime of Louis Philippe that anyone who attacked the social order, from any angle or for any reason, was sure to get a hearing. Proudhon's reputation as a social philosopher was assured by the appearance, in 1846, of his *Système des contradictions économiques, ou philosophie de la misère*, in which he sought to find a solution of the social problem other than that presented by the socialists or by the classical economists.

When the Revolution of 1848 broke out in February, Proudhon threw himself into the movement with great ardor. He became the editor of a radical journal, *Le Représentant du peuple*, in which he wrote articles that attracted considerable attention.<sup>3</sup> Proudhon became a popular figure in Paris and was elected to the National Assembly as a radical deputy. Because of his famous catchword, "property is theft," he was expected to be on the socialist left, along with Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc. Instead, he astonished his associates by voting against the famous resolution proclaiming the "right to work." He

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondance de P.-J. Proudhon* (Paris, 1875), I, xxii; hereinafter cited as *Correspondance*.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur Desjardins, *P.-J. Proudhon* (Paris, 1896), I, 120; Proudhon, *La Révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du deux décembre* (Paris, 1936), p. 12.

also voted against the adoption of the constitution establishing the democratic Second Republic on the ground that he did not believe in constitutions.<sup>4</sup> His chief activity as a member of the assembly was the introduction of a bill to establish a system of free credit through a people's bank which was to supersede the Bank of France. In the debate that followed, Proudhon proved no match for his opponent, Adolphe Thiers, who ridiculed both the scheme and its author. The bill received only two votes, and Proudhon was howled down amid jeers and catcalls.

Proudhon's greatest activity was as a journalist and pamphleteer, not as a politician. He became notorious as a dissenter from the dissenters of his day: liberals, democrats, republicans, and socialists, especially the last. The socialists, Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, Leroux, and Considérant, received the full measure of Proudhon's virulent invective. In 1849 he was arrested on the charge of writing violent articles against President Louis Napoleon and sentenced to prison for three years.<sup>5</sup> His prison cell served Proudhon as an opportunity for leisure of which he made good use by studying and by writing. It was while in prison that Proudhon, at the age of forty, was married. His wife was a simple working woman to whom he was deeply attached all his life.

A number of books, as well as a wife, emerged from Proudhon's prison cell. A volume appeared in 1852, *La Révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'état du deux décembre*, that created a sensation. In this volume Proudhon hailed the overthrow of the Second Republic as a great step of progress and extolled Louis Napoleon as the hope of revolutionary France. The book roused a storm of bewildered criticism, consternation, and bafflement among the democrats and socialists of the day. During the period of the Second Empire, Proudhon was actively engaged in writing. Book after book and pamphlet after pamphlet poured from his busy pen. He attracted the hostile attention of the government when, in 1858, he attacked the church in his book, *De la justice dans la Révolution et dans l'église*. His arrest was ordered but he fled to Brussels, where he lived for three years. In 1862 Proudhon returned to France, where he died in 1865.

Proudhon wrote voluminously and has been written about voluminously.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Desjardins, I, 210; Edouard Droz, *P.-J. Proudhon* (Paris, 1909), p. 163.

<sup>5</sup> Proudhon, *Idée générale de la révolution au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1923), p. 5; Droz, p. 165.

<sup>6</sup> The latest edition of his complete works is *Oeuvres complètes de P.-J. Proudhon* (14 vols., Paris, 1923-38), ed. by Célestin C. A. Bouglé and Henri Moysset. An older edition, and the one used in the present article unless otherwise indicated, is P. J. Proudhon, *Oeuvres complètes* (37 vols., Paris, 1866-83). A collection of miscellaneous notes, "Carnets de Proudhon," was published in *Grande Revue*, L-LI. Proudhon's correspondence, which is as interesting as it is voluminous, is to be found in *Correspondance de P.-J. Proudhon* (14 vols., Paris, 1875). The biographies of

His books had a wide audience and greatly influenced the labor movement in France.<sup>7</sup> Not a little of Proudhon's influence came from the polemical character of his writings, which appealed to the mood and spirit of social criticism, traditional in France. He developed a manner of writing that was vehemently critical in tone, vivid in language, trenchant in style, and devastating in character. Systems of thought, public policies, and famous reputations were demolished in a torrential verbal fury that left not a rack behind. Proudhon was profoundly convinced that he, and he alone of the many revolutionists of his day, was the complete and legitimate expression of the revolutionary movement in France.<sup>8</sup> In his own time, and since, he has been regarded by many as the uncompromising champion of human liberty in every aspect and under all circumstances.

However, neither Proudhon's undoubted sincerity nor his great courage are of themselves sufficient to accept him on his own valuation as the complete revolutionist of his nation and of his age. The reader of Proudhon is frequently baffled by a curious and strange contradiction: lucidity in language and obscurity in thought. The language that he uses in analyzing social forces and political ideas is clear to the point of sharpness, and yet the reader fails to get a comprehensive idea of Proudhonian principles and remedies. The one outstanding exception is Proudhon's proposal for a bank of exchange to promote his favorite scheme of free credit, which is clearly outlined. Was then Proudhon merely a destructive critic of other men's ideas with no ideas of his own? It would seem so were it not for sinister overtones that haunt

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Proudhon are: Karl Diehl, *P. J. Proudhon, Seine Lehre und sein Leben* (3 vols., Jena, 1888-96); Desjardins, *Proudhon* (2 vols., Paris, 1896); and Droz, *P.-J. Proudhon* (Paris, 1909). Books dealing with the various ideas of Proudhon are: Herbert Bourgin, *Proudhon* (Paris, 1901); Gaëtan Pirou, *Proudhonisme et syndicalisme révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1910); Aimé Berthod, *P.-J. Proudhon et la propriété* (Paris, 1910); Bouglé, *La Sociologie de Proudhon* (Paris, 1911); Bouglé, ed., *Proudhon et notre temps* (Paris, 1920) and *Proudhon* (Paris, 1930); Alfred G. Boulen, *Les Idées solidaristes de Proudhon* (Paris, 1912); Laurent Labrusse, *Conception proudhonienne du crédit gratuit* (Paris, 1919); Shi Yung Lu, *The Political Theories of P. J. Proudhon* (New York, 1922); Nicolas Bourgeois, *Proudhon, le fédéralisme et la paix* (Paris, 1926); Henry Cohen, ed., *Proudhon's Solution of the Social Problem* (New York, 1927); Jeanne Duprat, *Proudhon, sociologue et moraliste* (Paris, 1929); Pierre Bourgeau, *P. J. Proudhon et la critique de la démocratie* (Strasbourg, 1933); Denis W. Brogan, *Proudhon* (London, 1934); Jacques Chabrier, *L'Idée de la révolution d'après Proudhon* (Paris, 1935). Chapters and articles on Proudhon are to be found in Emile Faguet, *Politicians and Moralists of the Nineteenth Century*, tr. by Dorothy Galton (London, 1928); Max Nettlau, *Der Anarchismus von Proudhon zu Kropotkin* (Berlin, 1927); Georges Gurvitch, *L'Idée du droit social* (Paris, 1932); Silvio Gesell, *The Natural Economic Order, Money Part*, tr. by Philip Pye (San Antonio, Tex., 1934); Louis Dimier, *Les Maîtres de la Contre-Révolution* (Paris, 1917); Dorothy W. Douglass, "P. J. Proudhon: A Prophet of 1848," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIV-XXXV (1929); Dudley Dillard, "Keynes and Proudhon," *Journal of Economic History*, II (May, 1942).

<sup>7</sup> Bouglé, "La Résurrection de Proudhon," *Revue de Paris*, Sept. 15, 1910; W. Pickles, "Les Tendances proudhoniennes dans la France d'après guerre," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, XXIII (1936-37).

<sup>8</sup> *Correspondance*, VII, 36.

his pages of which the present-day reader soon becomes aware. Sometimes these overtones are heard faintly, sometimes with a loudness that is startling. It is these overtones that so puzzled his republican and socialist contemporaries and caused them to see in Proudhon a powerful destructive force which launched missiles at the citadel of privilege, but from an angle and in a direction different from their own. As a consequence they shied away from him as from a strange animal. Proudhon was himself conscious that he was out of harmony with his age. "My body is in the midst of the people," he declared, "but my thought is elsewhere. Owing to the trend of my ideas I have almost nothing in common with those of my contemporaries."<sup>9</sup> Proudhon's attitude toward the Revolution of 1848, which saw a confluence of so many revolutionary streams, strikingly illustrated his enigmatic position of being both a product and an opponent of the revolutionary thought of his time. "And then the Revolution, the Republic, and socialism, one supporting the other," he declared, "came with a bound. I saw them; I felt them; and I fled before this democratic and social monster. . . . An inexpressible terror froze my soul, obliterating my very thoughts. I denounced the conservatives who ridiculed the fury of their opponents. I denounced still more the revolutionists whom I beheld pulling up the foundations of society with incredible fury. . . . No one understood me."<sup>10</sup>

Proudhon was not the intellectual leader of a revolutionary party, as was Louis Blanc; nor was he the founder of a school, as was Saint-Simon. Yet ardent disciples came to him, attracted more by the violence of his attacks on the social order than by the clarity of his social thought. They heard their master's word but did not see his vision, for he himself saw it but darkly. In truth Proudhon was a revolutionist, not of his time but of ours; hence he deserves a re-evaluation in the light of the present.

Even an inharmonious genius does not arise in a vacuum. As a consequence of the industrial development in France, an aristocracy of money came into power with the Revolution of 1830. During the reign of Louis Philippe the wealthy bourgeois, factory owners and bankers, were in control of the government. Both the aristocrats and the workers were all but eliminated from the political scene through a propertied suffrage that was sufficiently extended to overwhelm the former and sufficiently restricted to exclude the latter. In the opinion of that profound observer and keen analyst, Alexis de Tocqueville, the triumph of the bourgeoisie in France "had been definite and so complete that all political power, every franchise, every prerogative and the whole government was confined and, as it were, heaped up

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 284.

<sup>10</sup> *Mélanges*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, XVIII, 6.

within narrow limits of this one class, to the statutory exclusion of all beneath them and the actual exclusion of all above. Not only did it thus alone rule society but it may be said to have formed it.”<sup>11</sup>

Opposition to the aristocracy of money came from the lower ranks of the bourgeoisie and from the working class. The great lower middle class of France, chiefly shopkeepers and artisans, regarded with increasing uneasiness the organization of joint stock companies that established large factories and consolidated transportation facilities. Big property was looming up as a threat to the existence of small property. The worker-owners, so numerous in France, felt the pressure of competition from the machine industries that could easily and readily get capital from the banks to finance their expansion. Many worker-owners went to the wall or were reduced to the ranks of the workers in the factories.<sup>12</sup>

Even more bitter in its opposition to the rule of the aristocracy of money was the attitude of the working class. Post-Revolutionary France exhibited economic inequalities almost as glaring as those under the Old Regime.<sup>13</sup> The new revolutionary movement, known as socialism, aimed to destroy the bourgeois ruling class in the only way that it could be destroyed as a class, namely by abolishing property altogether.

There is an aspect of the social situation in France during the July Monarchy that is significant in the light of the present. The great mass of worker-owners, the petty bourgeois, were confronted by enemies on two fronts: consolidated capitalism that would preserve property rights by driving them out of business and revolutionary socialism that would establish economic equality by confiscating their property. The strong property sense of the petty bourgeois, nowhere so strong as in France, led him to regard the capitalist with dislike as a competitor and with envy as a rich member of his class. But his dislike and envy were tempered by a keen regard for the security of property rights which, in case of a crisis, would drive him to the side of the capitalist. Far different was the attitude of the petty bourgeois toward the worker. An overwhelming majority of the French workingmen were then employed in shops and in small factories; hence it was the small employer who was under constant pressure to make concessions to the workers' demands for better conditions. Behind demands for better wages and shorter hours the terrified bourgeois saw the specter of universal con-

<sup>11</sup> *The Recollections of Alexis de Tocqueville*, tr. by Alexander T. de Mattos (New York, 1896), p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Pierre Quentin-Bauchart, *La Crise sociale de 1848* (Paris, 1920), pp. 36 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.; Charles Rist, “Durée du travail dans l’industrie française de 1820 à 1870,” *Revue d’économie politique*, XI (1897).

fiscation, proclaimed by the revolutionary proletariat. From this inharmonious historic background emerged the much misunderstood, fantastic Proudhon, "*pleins d'idées souvent d'une perspicacité incroyable.*"

How to preserve property rights and, at the same time, abolish capitalism? How to safeguard the small property owner against his economic enemies: big business and revolutionary socialism? These were the questions that agitated Proudhon. Sometimes his answers were plain, even blunt, at other times they seemed hazy and far afield, but at all times they were suffused by a strange kind of revolutionary fervor that was both puzzling and exasperating.

*La propriété c'est le vol.* Nothing could be clearer, sharper, and more definite in its repudiation of the established social order than this famous dictum of Proudhon. Property had been declared a natural right by the French Revolution, and every regime in France since 1789 had maintained it unswervingly. With the rise of socialism after 1830, property had become the real issue between the contending forces in France, an issue that de Tocqueville had clearly foreseen and had acutely analyzed.<sup>14</sup> When Proudhon repudiated property so violently as to call it "theft," he was hailed then, as he is regarded today, as an extreme revolutionist. It is only by reading Proudhon carefully—and fully—that it is possible to understand what he meant by "property" and why he regarded it as "theft." A false impression of Proudhon's views on this, as well as on the other matters, is derived from such dicta.

According to Proudhon property was, in essence, a privilege to obtain rent, profit, and interest without any labor whatsoever. It reaped without sowing, consumed without producing, and enjoyed without exertion. It was the "worst usurer as well as the worst master and worst debtor."<sup>15</sup> There could be no justification for property on any ground—natural right, law, or occupation—because it created and maintained social inequality, the prime source of all human woe.<sup>16</sup> All efforts to abolish it had been in vain. The greatest of all changes in history, the French Revolution, did not abolish the rule of propertied classes; all that it did was to substitute the rule of bourgeois for that of aristocratic property owners. Therefore the revolution must go on until property is abolished altogether. Then, and then only, will mankind enjoy equality.

But the "satanic" institution of property, in origin vicious and antisocial, could be made into a powerful instrument with which to establish a free and

<sup>14</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1864–67), IX, 516–17.

<sup>15</sup> Proudhon, *Théorie de la propriété* (Paris, 1866), p. 169.

<sup>16</sup> *Qu'est-ce que la propriété*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, I, 34–35.

equal social order "by changing this angel of darkness into an angel of light."<sup>17</sup> How? By substituting *possession populaire* for *propriété aristocratique*. Under the property system a man received an unearned income *sans main mettre*, because of his ownership of a wealth-producing estate or business. An unearned income, according to Proudhon, was the essence of privilege. Under a system of "possession" a man would earn his livelihood by actual labor on his farm or in his shop; he would, therefore, be entitled to what he had produced because it had been the product of his own labor.<sup>18</sup> To labor then should go the full product of its exertions. "Possession" was the private ownership of the instruments of production without the unearned property income received by the functionless *rentier*. By abolishing the abuses that had grown up around property, the essentials of the system of property rights could be maintained more firmly, more clearly, and more strongly.<sup>19</sup> It becomes plain that in his distinction between "property" and "possession" Proudhon aimed to justify property rights by universalizing property.

Proudhon denounced the property system as a *féodalité industrielle*, established by capitalism, that brought new injustices in the economic life of the world. Not even Marx was more bitter in his criticism of capitalism than was Proudhon, who asserted that the time was ripe for a new revolution which would overthrow the property system with its injustices and inequalities and establish an egalitarian system of possession. Since Proudhon was a native of France, the land of revolutionary traditions, and since he lived during the revolutionary period of 1848, it is important to note that, over and over again, he used the term "revolution" to mean a peaceful, though rapid, establishment of a new social order. He strongly opposed the revolutionary activities of the socialists, whom he ridiculed and denounced in unmeasured terms. There was no greater crime, in the opinion of Proudhon, than to incite class war at any and at all times.<sup>20</sup> Violent language, habitual with Proudhon, was, in a sense, used by him as a substitute for violent action to conceal the realities of his own program.

How was the peaceful revolution to take place whereby "the present system of oppression and of misery" would give way to a "system based on general well-being and liberty"? Proudhon's answer was surprisingly definite. It was to be by means of a change in the financial system that would give

<sup>17</sup> *Théorie de la propriété*, pp. 208-10.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>19</sup> The best analysis of Proudhon's view of property is to be found in Berthold, P.-J. *Proudhon et la propriété*.

<sup>20</sup> *Correspondance*, II, 200, 291; VI, 381. In a letter to Marx, Proudhon repudiated violent methods as no longer necessary to accomplish social changes. See *Les Confessions d'un révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1929), p. 435.



credit to anyone who asked for it. To grasp the significance of Proudhon's solution it is essential to keep in mind that his anticapitalism was not the same as that of the socialists who attacked capitalism primarily as a system of production. He launched his attack on capitalism as a system of exchange which functioned through the gold standard, the Bank of France, and the stock exchange. In his book *Manuel du spéculateur à la bourse*, Proudhon singled out the stock exchange as capitalism at its peak and at its worst. Finance was the quintessence of privileged, monopolistic capitalism because it controlled the life blood of the entire economic system, namely credit. The close and vital connection of finance with industry and with land enabled the capitalist to exact profit and the landlord to exact rent. The entire system of capitalist exploitation, established through this connection, would topple over through what Proudhon called, a *révolution par le crédit*.

This revolution, the greatest in history, was to be accomplished by the establishment of free credit, *crédit gratuit*.<sup>21</sup> A People's Bank (*Banque du Peuple*) was to be organized to take the place of the Bank of France. Unlike the latter, the former was to have no subscribed capital, no stockholders, no gold reserve. It was neither to pay nor to charge interest, except a nominal charge to cover overhead. All business transactions in the nation were to be centralized in the People's Bank, which was to be a bank of exchange and a market for all the products of the nation. It was to issue notes based neither on specie nor on land but on actual business values. The chief function of the bank would be to universalize the bill of exchange by facilitating the exchange of goods between producers and consumers through exchange notes instead of money.<sup>22</sup>

The dominating virtue of this scheme, according to Proudhon, was free credit in the form of exchange notes, universally accepted. With free credit a new economic order would arise, more free, more enterprising, more productive than capitalism. Private enterprise would remain, and competition, the vital force that animated all society, would continue to regulate market prices.<sup>23</sup> This greatest of all revolutions in history would be put through, according to Proudhon, "without confiscation, without bankruptcy, without an agrarian law, without common ownership, without state intervention, and without the abolition of inheritance."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> References to this scheme are to be found in most of Proudhon's writings. The best exposition is contained in his *Organisation du crédit* in *Oeuvres complètes*, VI, and in his *Résumé de la question sociale* (Paris, 1849). See also Cohen, ed., *Proudhon's Solution of the Social Problem*.

<sup>22</sup> *Organisation du crédit*, p. 115.

<sup>23</sup> *Système des contradictions économiques* (Paris, 1923), I, 249.

<sup>24</sup> Speech of Proudhon to the National Assembly, July 31, 1848, *Compte rendu des séances de l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris, 1849), II, 772.

It is now clearly evident that the classless society of Proudhon's vision was entirely different from that of the socialists. Instead of the triumphant proletariat of the socialists it would be the triumphant middle class that would usher in the new order of economic equality. His method of bringing the classless society into existence was also strikingly different from that of the socialists of his time. It was through the socialization of finance by the peaceful *révolution par le crédit* in contrast to the socialist method of the socialization of the means of production and exchange by class war and the dictatorship of the proletariat. To renounce the principle of class war and to hold up the middle class as the hope of mankind roused all the furies in Marx, who had confidently condemned this class to utter extinction, to be ground out of existence by the upper and nether millstones of capital and labor. Nothing appeared more preposterous to Marx than the notion that the revolution of the future would be in the interest of the middle class. He poured a stream of ridicule on Proudhon as a philosopher who "wished to soar as a man of science above the bourgeoisie and the proletarians; he is only the petty bourgeois, tossed about constantly between capital and labor between political economy and communism."<sup>25</sup>

All working class movements of the day, such as trade unionism, universal suffrage, and socialism, encountered the uncompromising hostility of Proudhon. There was a menacing tone of bitterness in his vitriolic denunciation of these movements, not present in his attacks on capitalism. In his view the aspirations of the workingmen were a diversion from the real issue in France and a perversion of his vision of a classless society. He denounced trade unionism as a subversive movement directed against the public interest. The right to strike, asserted Proudhon, was a sinister power, wielded by the workers, that acted as a stimulus to their egoistic demand to rule the nation. It legalized class warfare to which he was unalterably opposed. He unleashed a furious, almost obscene, assault on what he contemptuously called the "political poverties," namely popular sovereignty, natural rights, constitutions, parliaments, universal manhood suffrage, and majority rule. Democracy was the most unstable of governments, continually oscillating between the absurd and the impossible. Its consequences were "the strangling of the public conscience, the suicide of popular sovereignty, and the apostasy of the Revolution."<sup>26</sup> Universal suffrage created the worst of all governments because it was "the idea of the state infinitely extended."<sup>27</sup> He, Proudhon, would under no circumstances devote any of his labor, of his time, or of his

<sup>25</sup> Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, tr. by Harry Quelch (London, 1900), p. 166.

<sup>26</sup> Desjardins, II, 214 ff.

<sup>27</sup> *Les Confessions d'un révolutionnaire*, p. 185.

substance to defend such *enfantillage* as democratic government. As a theory popular sovereignty was just plain nonsense, and its application to government in the form of universal suffrage was "worn out childishness."<sup>28</sup> Proudhon's contempt and hatred of democracy overflowed all decent bounds, and he descended to a degree of disgusting vilification, reached only by the fascists of our day. "All this democracy disgusts me," he wrote. "It wishes to be scratched where vermin causes itching, but it does not at all wish to be combed or to be deloused. What would I not give to sail into this mob with my clenched fists!"<sup>29</sup>

Proudhon's opposition to democracy arose from his contempt of the common man. The great mass of people, in his opinion, consisted of puffed up bourgeois, miserable peasants, and stupid proletarians. He loved to embroider this theme with many verbal designs. The bourgeois were "greedy, cowardly, as much without generosity as without principles," and they stole through speculation because they hated to work for a living. The peasant never felt the "beat of national honor in his heart. He believes that tyranny is good provided it keeps down the city folks. Instinctively he hates science, philosophy, art, and industry . . . and is ever ready to respond to the appeals of the clericals against liberty." All that the worker desired was better wages, fewer hours of work, low cost of living, and high taxes for the rich. He had no vision of a new and better social order. "Corrupt, envious, and slanderous the worker mistakes hatred of employers for patriotism. He gets his greatest pleasure in witnessing the massacre of those who champion his cause." His contempt for his fellow worker, his hatred of his employer, his love of pomp and show "always drive him to the side of authority."<sup>30</sup>

All true progress, according to Proudhon, was accomplished, not directly by the masses, but by *des esprits d'élite*, who, openly or secretly, drove them in the right direction.<sup>31</sup> The masses were predisposed to autocratic rule, not to self-government. They needed a ruler as they needed a god. "For me," Proudhon declared, "it is an economic truism that the class which is the most numerous and the most poor is by that very fact the most envious, the most immoral, and the most cowardly."<sup>32</sup> Humanity did not consist of the mass of brutalized "bipeds" but of the small group of elite which had always been the ferment in history. He questioned whether humanity ever consisted of more than ten thousand persons.<sup>33</sup>

Proudhon's diatribes against democracy arose from his repudiation of

<sup>28</sup> For Proudhon's views on democracy, see Bourgeau, *P. J. Proudhon et la critique de la démocratie*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>29</sup> *Correspondance*, XI, 197.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 138-39; *Manuel du spéculateur à la bourse*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, XI, 404.

<sup>31</sup> *Correspondance*, V, 57-58.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 267.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 154-55.

what he called "political" government, whether absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy, or democratic republic. Authority and subordination, so destructive of human individuality and personal freedom, were the fundamental principles of every state, "the unpaid prostitute of knaves, monks, and old soldiers."<sup>34</sup> The state, under whatever form, was a conservative force; it could not, therefore, ameliorate social conditions just because it was the state. Proudhon went so far as openly to avow himself an anarchist and to praise anarchy as the condition of a mature society.<sup>35</sup>

What was "economic" government that, according to Proudhon, was to supplant the "political" government which he condemned so loudly, so persistently, and so profusely? He devoted a volume, *Du Principe fédératif*, to the explanation of the scheme; and references to it are to be found scattered through Proudhon's writings. Nevertheless, it is difficult, very difficult, to get a clear idea of the scheme of economic government that Proudhon called "mutualism." Generalizations, keen and brilliant, there are aplenty but nowhere a ground plan. Under mutualism there would be organized, in each industry, voluntary autonomous associations of producers with the object of exchanging commodities. Production was to be individual, not collective. Relations between individuals and associations would be based on voluntary contracts, not on coercive laws.<sup>36</sup> Competition between the voluntary, autonomous, economic associations, under mutualism, would function in a healthful manner, whereas, under capitalism, competition between individuals was destructive and chaotic. In these ways mutualism would prove superior to the individualism of the capitalists and to the collectivism of socialists.

There was to be a political aspect to mutualism, namely federalism. The various associations would form a hierarchy of federations, at the top of which would be two national federations, one of producers and another of consumers. Supreme authority would be vested in a council, chosen by the various associations, with power to regulate their common affairs, such as transportation, credit, insurance, defense, security, etc. The centralized, sovereign state, exercising coercive power over the people, would be replaced by a "cluster of sovereignties," consisting of federations of autonomous economic associations. This new system would inaugurate what Proudhon called *le troisième monde*, the first truly classless society in history, which would succeed capitalism as the latter had succeeded feudalism. *Le troisième monde* would arise from the soil of capitalism, yet without any capitalistic evils, like the "lily which repudiates the onion from which it stems."<sup>37</sup> Like

<sup>34</sup> *Idée générale de la révolution*, p. 344.

<sup>35</sup> *Mélanges*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, XIX, 19; *Idée générale de la révolution*, p. 199.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 301-302.

<sup>37</sup> *La Guerre et la paix* (Paris, 1927), p. 191.

capitalism, the new order would maintain private enterprise, freedom of contract, competition, and private property. Unlike capitalism, it would not tolerate financial and industrial overlords with the attendant economic inequalities, class conflicts, and political tyrannies. All classes would fuse into one, *la classe moyenne*, and the great dream of a society of equals would at last be realized.

The unique aspect of Proudhon's blurred blueprint of *le troisième monde* was his outlawing of government from the social order. It caught the attention of those revolutionists in France, who, in the four short years from 1848 to 1852, had seen rapid and violent changes of government. When the Second Empire gave evidence of its ability to maintain itself against all opposition, whether royalist, republican, or socialist, certain elements among the revolutionists became convinced that stable government was synonymous with despotism. On the sudden collapse of the seemingly all-powerful empire at Sedan these revolutionists saw their opportunity of destroying despotism forever by abolishing government altogether. The voice of Proudhon rang loudly in the ears of the revolutionists of the Paris Commune, who aimed to destroy the central government of France and to establish, in its place, a federation of autonomous communes.<sup>38</sup>

However, nothing would have astounded and infuriated Proudhon more than being hailed as the inspiration of a bloody uprising by the revolutionary proletariat. This contemner of all government, this "anarchist" hailed the dictatorial Second Empire as the long promised, passionately hoped for, historical event that would usher in *le troisième monde*. After the *coup d'état* of December 2, Proudhon addressed Louis Napoleon in the following manner: "You are the revolution of the nineteenth century; you can not be anything else. Apart from this, Deux-Décembre would be only an historic accident without principle and without significance."<sup>39</sup> The true object of Deux-Décembre, according to Proudhon, was to inaugurate the social revolution which had proved too great a task for every government in France since the First Empire. There was only one possible program for Louis Napoleon to follow, and that was a revolutionary one.<sup>40</sup> In the light of his great mission the suppression of the socialists during the June Days and the overthrow of the Second Republic were not reactionary acts. On the contrary they prepared the way for the advent of the true revolution of which Louis Napoleon was

<sup>38</sup> Concerning the influence of Proudhon's ideas on the Paris Commune, see Bourgin, *Proudhon*, pp. 81 ff.; and Brogan, *Proudhon*, p. 85.

<sup>39</sup> *La Révolution sociale*, p. 108.

<sup>40</sup> *Correspondance*, IV, 281.

the leader.<sup>41</sup> "Let Deux-Décembre proclaim, frankly and loudly, that the reason for its advent was that it represented social revolution."<sup>42</sup>

Proudhon offered to collaborate with Louis Napoleon and to guide him in the new revolutionary course "for the glory of the country, for the well-being of the masses, and for the progress of mankind."<sup>43</sup> He counselled the republicans and the socialists to rally to the banner of Louis Napoleon, who was the champion of the masses despite the fact that he was regarded by the reactionaries as an agent of counterrevolution.<sup>44</sup> By supporting Louis Napoleon, republicans and socialists would become the leaders and moderators of the true revolution demanded by the proletariat, who desired not political slogans but economic renovation.<sup>45</sup>

Forcefully and repeatedly Proudhon drove home the idea that a social revolution could be accomplished only through the dictatorship of one man. Because of party divisions the revolution, so necessary to France, could not come from the deliberations of a popular assembly but from the dictatorship of one man, supported by the people.<sup>46</sup> The Revolution of 1848, Proudhon asserted, exposed the incompetence of the babblers and visionaries, and its suppression by the *coup d'état* cleared the way for the efficient, practical revolution of Louis Napoleon. He, not the socialists, was the true revolutionist. Did he not question all institutions: property, interest, income, privilege, constitutionalism, dynasty, church, army, school? Not by theories but by acts did Louis Napoleon show how fragile was the social structure and how weak were the principles that supported it.<sup>47</sup> The "anarchist" Proudhon, who so hated political government that he voted against the adoption of the democratic constitution of the Second Republic, now welcomed the constitution of the Second Empire that established the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon.

Like every other French thinker during the nineteenth century Proudhon was keenly aware of the problem of the two Frances, between which yawned the chasm of the French Revolution. His solution of the problem was the establishment of one party based on *la classe moyenne*. He poured scorn, wrathful, withering, and inexhaustible, on the many political parties during the Second Republic. Was this the product of the united, centralized France of which everyone was so proud?<sup>48</sup> Napoleon had sought to unite France by means of the poetry of war, but Louis Napoleon would improve on this method by using the "prose of economics." How? Proudhon's answer had a

<sup>41</sup> *La Révolution sociale*, p. 177.

<sup>44</sup> *La Révolution sociale*, pp. 284 ff.

<sup>46</sup> *La Révolution sociale*, p. 215.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 269.

<sup>45</sup> *Idee générale de la révolution*, p. 121.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>48</sup> *Correspondance*, V, 154.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 267-68.

sinister significance. It was possible and desirable, he argued, that one party should swallow all the other parties. This one party must represent the interests of *la classe moyenne* and those of the proletariat, fused into a national interest. Deux-Décembre alone could do it because it represented social revolution. To Louis Napoleon had come the great opportunity to take this great step.<sup>49</sup>

Proudhon was doomed to suffer great disappointment in his ardent hopes of Deux-Décembre. In an interview with Louis Napoleon in 1848, he had proposed to the latter his scheme of free credit to inaugurate peacefully the great social revolution. After Louis Napoleon became emperor, Proudhon insistently urged him to adopt his scheme in order to fulfill the great revolutionary promise of Deux-Décembre. But the emperor paid no heed whatever to Proudhon's exaltation of him as the greatest revolutionist of all times, or to his scheme of *révolution par le crédit*. Chagrined at his failure to convert Louis Napoleon, Proudhon became very hostile to the Second Empire. Had the emperor betrayed the social revolution? Had he, instead, headed the industrial revolution of the capitalists and the bankers? Proudhon's passionate resentment at what he considered a betrayal of the greatest mission in history led him to conclude bitterly, yet correctly, that the Second Empire was a bourgeois government with a romantic, Napoleonic façade.<sup>50</sup> The great advance of industry and finance that was taking place with the active encouragement of the government was, in Proudhon's view, a retrograde movement to exploit the French people. What was the government doing for the masses and for his favorite class, *la classe moyenne*? Nothing, he replied. As the Second Empire became more liberal in its political and more capitalistic in its economic policies, Proudhon became more bitter in his hostility to Louis Napoleon. "After handing over our souls to the Jesuits," he complained, "the Emperor hands over our patrimony to the Jews."<sup>51</sup> Public opinion under the Second Empire, Proudhon asserted, was dominated by Jews, Saint-Simonians, liberals, Jesuits, and bohemians. Especially influential were the Jews, "who dominated the press and controlled the government."<sup>52</sup>

More than once was the note of anti-Semitism sounded by Proudhon. During the supreme hour of European liberalism, the Revolution of 1848, he had denounced the Jews as the bulwark of *la féodalité capitaliste*, hence the enemies of the people at all times. "The Jews, again the Jews, always the Jews!" he exclaimed. "Under the Republic, as under Louis Philippe, and as under Louis XIV we have always been at the mercy of the Jews."<sup>53</sup> Proudhon

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 268-69.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82; *Correspondance*, V, 55.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 242.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 354; XII, 65.

<sup>53</sup> *Mélanges*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, XVII, 31.



identified capitalists with bankers, and the latter with Jews, and he regarded all three as an unholy trinity indissolubly united in exploiting *la classe moyenne* and in defending reaction in France. "One group of counterrevolutionists," he declared, "consists of the monied elements, industrialists, merchants, and bankers, who are responsible for all the tyrannies perpetrated by reaction. These elements recognize the Jews as their leaders."<sup>54</sup> Proudhon had the tendency, inevitable in the anti-Semite, to see in the Jews the prime source of the nation's misfortunes, and to associate them with persons and groups that he hated. He denounced Jews along with "Saint-Simonians, pimps, brutal drunkards, and contemptible pedants."<sup>55</sup>

Anti-Semitism, always and everywhere, the acid test of racialism, with its division of mankind into creative and sterile races, led Proudhon to regard the Negro as the lowest in the racial hierarchy. During the American Civil War he favored the South, which, he insisted, was not entirely wrong in maintaining slavery. The Negroes, according to Proudhon, were an inferior race, an example of the existence of inequality among the races of mankind. Not those who desired to emancipate them were the true friends of the Negroes but those "who wish to keep them in servitude, yea to exploit them, but nevertheless to assure them of a livelihood, to raise their standard gradually through labor, and to increase their numbers through marriage."<sup>56</sup>

What astounded Proudhon's contemporaries, even more than his support of the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon or his anti-Semitic outbursts or his defense of Negro slavery, was his glorification of war. Hatred of war and longing for universal peace has been an almost universal characteristic of all modern revolutionary thinkers—the philosophes in the eighteenth, the democrats in the nineteenth, and the socialists in the twentieth century. The contradictions between the revolutionist Proudhon and the revolutionary thought of his day became even more puzzling, even more strange, when Proudhon appeared as a glorifier of war for its own sake. His book *La Guerre et la paix*, which appeared in 1861, was a hymn to war, intoned in a more passionate key than anything produced by the fascists of our time. "This book," remarks Henri Moysset, editor of the volume, "arises from the very well-spring of Proudhonism; ordered and fully completed by the pressure of events, it is truly the product of the intellectual soil and moral climate in which the spirit of Proudhon grew and matured."<sup>57</sup>

"Hail to war!" exclaimed Proudhon. "It is only through war that man was able to rise from the lowest depths to his present dignity and worth. Over

<sup>54</sup> *Résumé de la question sociale*, p. 36.

<sup>55</sup> *Correspondance*, XII, 55.

<sup>56</sup> *La Guerre et la paix*, p. 179.

<sup>57</sup> Moysset, intro. to *ibid.*, p. lvi.

the body of a fallen foe he has the first vision of glory and immortality. . . . Death is the crowning of life, and how can an intelligent, free, moral creature like man end his life more nobly than on the battlefield?"<sup>58</sup> War was the revelation of religion, of justice, and of the ideal in human relations. Man was "above all else a warrior animal. . . . It is through war that his sublime nature becomes manifest. It is war alone that makes heroes and demigods."<sup>59</sup>

In the view of Proudhon war was not a social evil that would be eradicated in the course of human progress. He was convinced that war was an instinct inherent in the very nature of man and was itself the prime source of human progress. Therefore it would last as long as man existed and as long as moral and social values prevailed in human society.<sup>60</sup> Universal and perpetual peace would mean the end of all progress. What would become of literature, of poetry, and of art if what was inconceivable actually happened, namely the abolition of war? What would become of justice, of freedom? Of the independent, free, autonomous nations? Everything would degenerate in a world at peace, and life would become a *siesta éternelle*.<sup>61</sup> As war was the beneficent, though terrible, cause of human progress, its very origin was divine. The conscience that produced religion and justice also produced war. The fervor and enthusiasm that inspired lawgivers and prophets also inspired the warrior heroes.<sup>62</sup> War was the only possible method of establishing justice on earth. As every nation sincerely believed that its cause was just, war was the only way of settling disputes between nations. And the victor always represented the justice of mankind. The profoundest sentiment, felt by the masses of mankind, was that there were "mysterious bonds" that united might and right. Because of this sentiment a nation, no matter how low she fell, would never perish as long as she kept burning in her heart "the just and regenerating flame of the right to make war."<sup>63</sup>

Almost every page of *La Guerre et la paix* contains a glorification of war as an ideal and as an institution. Repetition reaches almost the point of hysteria. To dismiss Proudhon as an irresponsible writer with an irrepressible gift for polemics would hardly do justice to one of the most influential social philosophers of the nineteenth century. His hysterical praise of war, like his ardent championship of the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon, like his unwavering support of the middle class, was an integral part of his social philosophy.

Almost always the militarist has been hostile to the emancipation of women. Women could not be warriors but they could be wives and mothers of warriors. Hence to relegate women to domestic duties was the best way

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>59</sup> *Mélanges*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, XIX, 65.

<sup>60</sup> *La Guerre et la paix*, pp. 55 ff.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 91.

of insuring a strong, virile nation. Moreover, woman's subordination to man and her inferior status in government and in society was the militarist pattern of command and obedience, applied to the very foundation of the social order, namely the family. In Proudhon's day George Sand, in France, and John Stuart Mill, in England, sounded the faint beginnings of the movement to emancipate women by granting them equal rights with men. Woman's rights encountered the furious opposition of Proudhon. "I regard as baneful and stupid," he declared, "all our dreams of emancipating woman. I deny her every political right and every initiative. For woman liberty and well-being lie solely in marriage, in motherhood, in domestic duties, in the fidelity of her spouse, in chastity, and in seclusion."<sup>64</sup>

What can be the explanation of the astonishing phenomena of the "complete revolutionist" being, at the same time, the complete militarist, the defender of slavery, the passionate hater of democracy and of socialism, and the bitter opponent of working class movements and of the emancipation of woman? The search for intellectual paternity sometimes leads to strange and disconcerting discoveries. Both by his disciples and by his detractors Proudhon has been given a high place as the father of anarchosyndicalism. To assert that both groups are mistaken involves a drastic re-evaluation of the ideas of this enigmatic thinker and of their significance in modern history.

According to authoritative syndicalist writers, notably Hubert Lagardelle, Proudhon was the inspirer of the anarchosyndicalist movement that came prominently to the fore in France during the quarter century before the first World War.<sup>65</sup> Proudhon's repudiation of both capitalism and socialism, his flouting of political government, and his scheme of free, autonomous economic groups became the fundamental theories of anarchosyndicalism. A resolution, adopted by the great federation of French trade unions, the *Confédération Générale du Travail*, incorporated in its famous charter of Amiens, sounded a distinctively Proudhonian note in its espousal of syndicalist policies. It demanded the establishment of a new social order, "based not on authority but on exchange, not on domination but on reciprocity, not on sovereignty but on freedom of contract."<sup>66</sup>

It is true that Proudhon's vague ideas concerning the future "mutualist" society influenced the equally vague ideas of the syndicalists concerning the future organization of society. Concretely and definitely, however, syndicalism was a revolutionary labor movement that depended on trade unions, general strikes, and class violence to bring about a social revolution. Proudhon was

<sup>64</sup> *Correspondance*, IV, 377.

<sup>65</sup> Pirou, *Proudhonisme et syndicalisme révolutionnaire*, p. 5.

<sup>66</sup> See Bouglé, ed., *Proudhon et notre temps*, p. 3.

certainly not a champion of organized labor. Concretely and definitely he opposed trade unions, strikes, and violent class conflicts.

There still persists the legend of the "anarchist" Proudhon. He did, it is true, repudiate the state and all political government whatsoever, which gave him the specious reputation of being the "father" of anarchy. In discussing the social and political issues of his day Proudhon did not at all apply his anarchist views. They seemed to form no part of his vigorous attacks on the ideas of his opponents, whether left or right. His hatred of socialism, which Proudhon regarded as the worst of all social poisons, drove him to advocate anarchy as its very opposite. What he really saw in anarchy was not a solution of social problems but an antidote to socialism. It is important to note that the historically important contribution of Proudhon to social thought was not his repudiation of the state but his new version of the class struggle in western Europe. As the champion of the cause of the middle class, in opposition both to capitalists and to workingmen, Proudhon's anarchism evaporates with furious abruptness. His advocacy of personal dictatorship and his laudation of militarism can hardly be equalled in the reactionary writings of his or of our day.

It is equally surprising that the royalists in France have claimed Proudhon as one of the "masters of counterrevolution." What especially attracted them to Proudhon was his vitriolic denunciation of Jacobinism and of socialism. In the office of the royalist journal, *Action française*, there hung on the wall a picture of the "complete revolutionist."<sup>67</sup> In his book *Les Maîtres de la Contre-Révolution*, the royalist writer, Louis Dimier, declared that Proudhon had a comprehensive philosophy of counterrevolution only in outline; in parts it was fully completed.<sup>68</sup> Though Proudhon gave to himself and to his contemporaries the impression of being a revolutionist, in reality, asserted Dimier, his ideas had the essence of conservatism. Therefore, the "revolution" of Proudhon could be more correctly described as "reaction." Proudhon was truly himself as a counterrevolutionist in those of his observations that were most striking and most penetrating.<sup>69</sup> The well-known anti-Semite, Edouard Drumont, hailed Proudhon as one who had a clear understanding, in his day, of the nature of masonic and cosmopolitan, *i.e.*, Jewish, conspiracies. By his sense of what was politically useful to France and "by his instinctive horror of cosmopolitanism, he was the first of the nationalists."<sup>70</sup> The Nestor of French royalism, Charles Maurras, praised Proudhon for his

<sup>67</sup> Bouglé, *La Sociologie de Proudhon*, intro., p. viii.

<sup>68</sup> Dimier, *Les Maîtres de la Contre-Révolution*, p. 282.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 239, 241-51.

<sup>70</sup> "Le Centenaire de Proudhon," *La Grande revue*, LIII (1909), 140.

pitiless exposure of democracy and democrats and of liberalism and liberals. As a nationalist, he asserted, Proudhon wrote in the spirit of the ancient monarchy that had done so much to advance the interest of France.<sup>71</sup>

However, Proudhon was not a reactionary, despite the claims of the royalists. Nothing in his writings or in his life indicates that he desired to re-establish the Old Regime in France or that he had any sympathy with the reactionary ideas of de Maistre and de Bonald. The royalists, like the syndicalists, mistook their man. Before the first World War anyone in France who opposed democratic ideas, parliamentary government, trade unions, and socialism was rated as a counterrevolutionist. That may have been true of others but not of Proudhon.

It was indeed an inharmonious age that produced Proudhon. The period in French history, 1830-1852, saw the revival of an old hope, that of fulfilling the democratic promise of the French Revolution, and the appearance of a new hope, that of creating a socialist commonwealth. Ideological conflicts had a great importance in France because of the tendency of radical ideas, in that land, to jump from the pages of a book into the melee of a barricade. Proudhon was a product of this revolutionary period in that he was one of those who voiced its discontents. In this sense he was a minor revolutionary figure, much less important than his fellow revolutionists, Louis Blanc, Blanqui, and Lamartine. Far more significant, however, was the fact that Proudhon was a prophet of future discontents, which gives him a greater position in history than that of his revolutionary contemporaries. The true significance of his writings can be seen only in the light of the political and social movement of our day known as fascism. It would be a great error to regard fascism as a counterrevolutionary movement, directed against the communists, as was that of the reactionaries against the liberals during the first half of the nineteenth century. Fascism is something unique in modern history in that it is a *revolutionary* movement of the middle class, directed, on the one hand, against the great banks and the consolidations of big business and, on the other hand, against the socialist demands of the working class. It repudiates democracy as a political system in which bankers, capitalists, and socialists find free scope for their activities and favors a dictatorship that will eliminate these elements from the life of the nation. Fascism proclaims a body of doctrines which are not entirely new; there are no "revelations" in history. With what ideas in Europe's past could they be related? With what great thinkers could they be associated?

It is the thesis of this article that the great French polemist, Proudhon,

<sup>71</sup> Charles Maurras, *Dictionnaire politique et critique* (Paris, 1933), IV, 220 ff.

was a harbinger of fascist ideas. Otherwise his views would be as bewildering to us as they were to his contemporaries. To them his writings had a revolutionary trend but in an unfamiliar direction and a violence of language that yet clothed an anxious conservatism. They baffled reactionaries, liberals, and socialists alike. Proudhon was a revolutionist in that he repudiated established political and economic institutions and in that he proclaimed a new social order, inspired by a new ideology. Yet his bent of mind was conservative. His intense devotion to the institution of the family, his never-failing championship of the interests of the middle class, and his advocacy of the inheritance of property reveal his essentially conservative outlook. The mental configuration of Proudhon, with its strange contrasts, produced an attitude toward social and political problems that is understandable only in the light of present discontents. His attacks on the capitalist system were similar in manner, in direction, and in objective to those made familiar today by fascist writings. He it was who first sounded the fascist note of a *revolutionary* repudiation of democracy and of socialism. These were the overtones of fascism so frequently heard in Proudhon's writings.

Proudhon was the intellectual spokesman of the French middle class, so numerous and yet so timorous. Like the fascists of our time, and unlike the Marxists of any time, he realized that there was a powerful class interest, apart from capitalists and workingmen and hostile to both. With the upswing of modern industry and with the growth of socialism the middle classes were in constant fear of losing their little farms, their little shops, their little savings, either through confiscation by the revolutionary proletariat or through competition of powerful capitalists who would grind them into poverty or out of existence. Fear, especially, of socialist confiscation continued in France all during the nineteenth century, and even later, down to the second World War. The taunt that Marx threw at Proudhon that he was a champion of the petty bourgeois, interested in the survival of this class, was true. But the contemptuous tone that Marx used showed that he had no understanding of the power and revolutionary possibilities of the middle class. This error of Marx became an article of faith to his disciples. The contemptuous disregard of the middle class by the Marxist Social Democrats and Communists, during the period between the two World Wars, was to have fatal consequences in the triumph of fascism, the revolutionary creed of the middle class.

In stressing banking and Jewish bankers for his line of attack against the established order, Proudhon betrayed an almost unerring sign of fascist anti-

capitalism. That banking was “predatory,” not productive, capitalism, and that it characterized the economic activity of the Jews were the emphatic appeals of the Nazis to the impoverished middle class in their crusade to abolish “interest slavery.” “In singling out predatory capital national socialism treads in the footsteps of Proudhon, who, in his *Idée générale de la révolution au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle* demanded the liquidation of the Banque de France and its transformation into an institution of public utility.”<sup>72</sup> In Proudhon’s day his scheme of free credit was regarded by revolutionists as a tiny and sickly mouse that emerged from the enormous mountain of his devastating attacks on the capitalist system. In the light of fascism it was an important and significant weapon with which to attack capitalism in the interest of the middle class.

Proudhon’s hostility to labor, whether organized industrially in trade unions or politically in socialist parties, had a fascist edge. The vehemence of his denunciation of working-class movements arose from his bitter hostility to labor *as a separate class interest*. During the middle of the nineteenth century most French workers were employed in small shops; hence class consciousness on their part was less a challenge to the capitalists than to *la classe moyenne*, whose interests Proudhon had so much at heart. He was indeed concerned with the welfare of the workers but only when they were willing to merge their interests with those of the middle class in the war against capitalism.

It was again Proudhon who proclaimed the novel idea that a dictatorship, to be successful under modern conditions, must have a popular basis and a revolutionary social program. This conception of dictatorship became distinctively fascist. Proudhon’s was the only revolutionary voice that hailed the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon as a continuation of the French Revolution in the economic sphere. It caught the attention of many anxious minds in France who were seeking a stable, united France without resorting to Legitimist reaction, bourgeois class rule, or socialist terrorism. The new class conflict, that between bourgeois and workingmen, which culminated in the June Days of 1848 created a social crisis in France similar to that in Italy and in Germany after the first World War. The emergence of a “savior of society” in the person of Louis Napoleon may be compared to the emergence of Mussolini and Hitler, who also claimed to have saved society from the revolutionary onslaught of the communists. The significance of Proudhon, in the crisis of 1848, was his self-appointed role of intellectual cicerone to Louis Napoleon, a role difficult to play a century before it could be appreciated.

<sup>72</sup> Franz Neumann, *Behemoth* (New York, 1942), p. 320.



That explains why he was rejected, both by those whom he sought to guide and by those who had regarded him as a fellow revolutionist.

There is no hint of the totalitarian corporative state in Proudhon's writings. The economic condition of France, in his day, was such that a totalitarian state of the fascist type was inconceivable, even by the bold social imagination of Proudhon. There existed no large working class, no concentrated industries that could be organized into state controlled "corporations." What was conceivable was a dictatorship, based on a mass of small property owners who desired a strong state to protect them against their class enemies and to make their interests those of the nation. That is why Proudhon, the spokesman of this class, supported the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon. That is why he proclaimed the latter to be chosen of history and implored him to carry out his mission as a social revolutionist. That is why he supported dictatorial government against *toute la gente candidate*.

Fascist writers both in Germany and in France have not been slow to recognize Proudhon as the intellectual forerunner of fascism. One of these writers, Willibald Schulze, hailed him as the *Wegweiser* of the Third Reich because he repudiated democracy, capitalism, and socialism. Of all the social philosophers of former times, he asserted, Proudhon was nearest to National Socialism in that he upheld the principle of private enterprise and was, at the same time, opposed to profit and to interest.<sup>73</sup> Proudhon, asserted another Nazi writer, Karl Heinz Bremer, saw the necessity of popularizing a social idea that was antiliberal in order to give a social significance to the Second Empire. What Louis Napoleon needed was an ideology that expressed the relationship of the workers to the Second Empire, which only Proudhon could supply. But the emperor rejected him because he desired the rapid success of his regime. Instead, he catered to the banking interests and to the Jews, as a consequence of which Louis Napoleon failed to solve the social problem within the framework of national and *völkisch* ideas.<sup>74</sup>

A significant article, contrasting Marx and Proudhon appeared in a Paris fascist journal, devoted to French collaboration with Nazi Germany. "Marx, the revolutionary disciple of Hegel," it declared, "placed a violent contradiction at the basis of society, a contradiction which could be dissolved only by levelling and by violence. Proudhon, being infinitely more conformable to the spirit of France, was well aware of individual values. He, therefore, found a way to resolve the economic contradictions of society. According to Marx it is the individual who is rotten; but, according to

<sup>73</sup> Willibald Schulze, "Was Proudhon Anarchist," *Deutschlands Erneuerung*, XXIII (1939).

<sup>74</sup> Karl Heinz Bremer, "Der sozialistische Kaiser," *Die Tat*, XXX (1938), 160 ff.

Proudhon, it is wealth. Proudhon welcomed into his fraternal 'people,' the middle class, who are the brains of the body social, a class that Marx would have stood up against a wall to be shot down."<sup>75</sup>

In the powerful polemist of the mid-nineteenth century it is now possible to discern a harbinger of the great world evil of fascism. An irritating enigma to his own generation, his teachings misunderstood as anarchy by his disciples, Proudhon's place in intellectual history is destined to have a new and greater importance. It will come with the re-evaluation of the nineteenth century, as the prelude to the world revolution that is now called the second World War.

<sup>75</sup> *Les nouveaux temps* (Paris, May 2-3, 1943).

# Great Britain and the Belgian Railways Dispute of 1869

GORDON A. CRAIG\*

IN the year 1864, Great Britain's Continental policy underwent one of those abrupt changes which, on so many occasions, have caused misunderstanding and bewilderment in Europe. After five years of spirited meddling in Continental affairs, Britain withdrew to a position of almost complete isolation, and for the next seven years, years of revolutionary importance in Europe, her influence was almost negligible.

Ever since the Crimean War, the desire for abstention from Continental troubles had been growing in Great Britain. The Radicals, led by Cobden and Bright, had long urged the application of the laissez-faire principle to foreign as well as commercial policy; and the Derby wing of the Tory party was already beginning to argue that the national interest lay not in Europe but overseas.<sup>1</sup> But the growing desire for isolation was given a great stimulus in the years 1863-1864 as a result of the anger and humiliation caused by the policy pursued by Palmerston and Russell in the Polish and Danish crises. The swashbuckling manner in which the two elder statesmen had rushed to the aid of the Poles and the Danes, only to abandon them in the face of Russian and Prussian resistance, was galling to Englishmen of both parties. Irritated at the weakening of British prestige, they criticized the policy which had been followed since 1859 as lacking in consistency and basic principle and demanded a thorough reform.

In the great debate on foreign policy which was held in the House of Commons in July, 1864, it was made apparent that the days of Palmerstonian diplomacy were past and those of isolation were at hand. The keynote was struck by one of the Radicals when he announced that it was time "for replacing that muddling, dishonest system of apparent intervention . . . by an honest, dignified and plainspoken system of non-intervention";<sup>2</sup> and repeatedly, as the debate went on, speakers on both sides of the House returned to that phrase, describing nonintervention as the traditional policy of Great Britain and the one to which the nation must now return. By the fourth night of the debate it was clear that Britain was about to enter a period in

\*The author is assistant professor of history in Princeton University.

<sup>1</sup> Robert W. Seton-Watson, *Britain in Europe, 1789-1914* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXVI, 859.

which nonintervention would be the shibboleth of both parties. What did not emerge from the discussion, however, was either an exact definition of the word nonintervention or an explanation of the manner in which a policy of nonintervention would affect England's treaty obligations and her interest in the European balance of power. And it was precisely this lack of definition which was to cause confusion in the years 1864-1871, and thus to effect a further diminution of Britain's Continental prestige.

In its original interpretation, nonintervention was the rule which forbade the intervention, forcible or supported by force, of one independent state in the internal affairs of another.<sup>3</sup> It was in this sense that Castlereagh had used the term, when, in his state paper of May 5, 1820, he had announced that Britain would not support the Holy Alliance's policy of interference in the affairs of small states.<sup>4</sup> It was in this sense, also, that Canning had used the term, and the principle of nonintervention formed the basis of what his secretary called Canning's "system of policy."<sup>5</sup> But neither Castlereagh nor Canning had ever interpreted nonintervention as a policy of complete withdrawal from European affairs. Castlereagh, in the same note in which he announced the principle, had proclaimed Britain's cardinal interest in the European balance of power; and his successor, while opposing "restless and meddling activity in the concerns of the nations which surround us," had added that Britain's position forbade "an exclusive selfishness."<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Canning made the principle of nonintervention a positive affirmation of British interests, maintaining always that abstention from needless activity would strengthen Britain's hand on those occasions when she was called upon to mediate between powers which threatened the general peace. He argued further that Britain's constant duty must be "to keep treaties, whatever the cost, for thus alone could confidence in their sanctity or in the public law of Europe be justified";<sup>7</sup> and he did not hesitate to depart from nonintervention when Britain's treaty obligations required that he do so.<sup>8</sup>

In the debate of July, 1864, the principle of nonintervention was given a much narrower interpretation than it had been by its early advocates. Certainly the followers of Cobden and Bright were not thinking in terms of Canningite doctrine. Cobden wished England, in a very real sense, to with-

<sup>3</sup> Mountague Bernard, *On the Principle of Non-Intervention* (Oxford, 1860), p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Harold W. V. Temperley and Lillian M. Penson, eds., *Foundations of British Foreign Policy, 1792-1902* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Augustus G. Stapleton, *George Canning and His Times* (London, 1859), p. 368.

<sup>6</sup> Seton-Watson, p. 119.

<sup>7</sup> Harold W. V. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning* (London, 1925), p. 466.

<sup>8</sup> Thus Canning departed from a strict policy of nonintervention in Spanish affairs in 1823 and in Portuguese affairs in 1825. See Temperley, p. 459.

draw from the Continent and its troubles, for he had no faith in diplomatic correspondence, concerts of Europe, or theories of the balance of power. By nonintervention, he and his followers meant "no foreign politics."<sup>9</sup> Nor were many of the Tories far removed from these opinions. Although Conservative speakers quoted Canning in their speeches, there was a strong feeling in their ranks that Britain had "scarcely any geographical interests on the Continent which might not be covered by Lord Russell's capacious hat."<sup>10</sup> Canning had never forgotten the importance of the balance of power; but Disraeli himself, in the debate of 1864, struck out at the theory of the balance of power as being "founded on the obsolete traditions of an antiquated system."<sup>11</sup> Canning had always insisted upon Britain's respect for treaty obligations; but, in one of the most warmly received speeches of the debate, General Peel stated that he was "opposed to all treaties and guarantees which render it necessary to interfere with the affairs of others."<sup>12</sup> These were, of course, mere random assertions in a very long debate, but they were important, for in the next seven years the governments which ruled England were, in their pursuit of nonintervention, to neglect both the balance of power and their treaty obligations.

The change in Britain's Continental policy after the debate of 1864 was immediate and complete. For the remainder of their term in office, the Liberals pursued a policy of extreme caution with regard to Europe. When Lord Clarendon became foreign secretary after Palmerston's death in 1865, he not only abstained from the partisan tactics of the past but he regarded with almost complete indifference the growing threat of war on the Continent. To the queen, who insisted that England should intervene between Austria and Prussia to preserve the general peace, Clarendon wrote that such intervention was inadvisable, since "neither English honour nor English interests are involved" in the dispute between those powers.<sup>13</sup> The possibility of England's mediating in the German conflict was removed when the Liberal ministry fell from office in June, 1866, and, by the time the Conservative government had been formed, the Seven Weeks' War had been fought and won by Prussia. But even if there had been no cabinet crisis, it is doubtful whether Britain would have intervened effectively. Clarendon had already set the tone of Britain's new policy. As Eugène Forcade said of the English, "*Il y a eu des temps où ils se mêlaient de tout, et ils sont fini par ne plus vouloir mêler de rien.*"<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Richard Cobden, *Political Writings* (London, 1878), I, 22, 43.

<sup>10</sup> *Saturday Review*, XIX (Jan. 28, 1865), 96 f.

<sup>11</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXVI, 731.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, CLXXVI, 800.

<sup>13</sup> Seton-Watson, p. 468.

<sup>14</sup> *Revue des deux mondes*, LXIV (July 1, 1866), 248.

The Derby-Disraeli ministry came to office in 1866 committed, both by their criticism of Palmerston's diplomacy and by the declarations of their leaders, to the policy of nonintervention. The foreign office was assigned to Lord Stanley, the eldest son of the prime minister. Shortly after the latter's accession to power, the Austrian ambassador wrote:

[Lord Stanley] belongs to that school of statesmen who make a dogma of the most complete non-intervention and the most absolute abstention of Great Britain from the affairs and quarrels of Europe. According to Lord Stanley, the only great interest of this country consists in the pacific development of its prosperity and its colonial and commercial power, and, as England could not attain this goal and at the same time interfere actively and influentially in the affairs of Europe, she ought not to hesitate between the two courses.<sup>15</sup>

In his three years of office, Stanley showed that this was an accurate forecast. His one adventure in foreign politics came in 1867 when the complicated question of the grand duchy of Luxemburg threatened to precipitate a Franco-Prussian war. On that occasion Stanley did intervene to find a peaceful solution, and Britain joined in that collective guarantee of Luxemburg's neutrality which was designed to prevent similar disputes in the future. But what credit Britain gained on the Continent by her intervention in this affair was offset by the extreme reluctance with which Stanley had moved and by his subsequent declaration that Britain was not called upon to protect the neutrality of Luxemburg by force of arms if any of the other guarantors should violate their pledge.<sup>16</sup> To the House of Commons Stanley made it clear that the Luxemburg adventure was an exception to his general line of policy and that England was not going to be drawn into new European complications. Indeed, in April, 1868, the government emphasized its withdrawal from Europe even further, when, in the debate on the Mutiny Bill, it acquiesced in the deletion of that part of the preamble of the bill which referred to England's traditional interest in the preservation of the European balance of power.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Temperley and Penson, p. 306.

<sup>16</sup> The best monograph on the Luxemburg affair is Gaspard Wampach, *Le Luxembourg neutre. Etude d'histoire diplomatique* (Paris, 1900), although the literature on the subject is voluminous. The parliamentary debates on the Luxemburg guarantee and the interpretations made by Stanley and Lord Derby are to be found in *Hansard*, 3d series, CLXXXVII, 148 ff., 1910 ff.; CLXXXVIII, 967 ff. Discussions of their interpretation are found in Temperley and Penson, pp. 309-12; Horst Michael, *Bismarck, England und Europa (vorwiegend von 1866-70)* (Munich, 1930), p. 66; and Charles P. Sanger and Henry T. Norton, *England's Guarantee to Belgium and Luxemburg* (London, 1915).

<sup>17</sup> *Great Britain: Statutes*, 31 Victoria chap. xiv (Apr. 3, 1868). Robert C. Binkley, *Realism and Nationalism, 1852-1871* (New York and London, 1935), pp. 283 f., mentions the change in the preamble of the act but ascribes it erroneously to the Gladstone ministry in 1869. It is true that the Gladstone government accepted the change, and in the Mutiny Acts the offending phrase was omitted. For the circumstances of the revision, see *Hansard*, 3d series, CXCI, 326, 556 f.

The policy of nonintervention was applied not only in western Europe but in Near Eastern affairs as well. Since 1866 the island of Crete had been in revolt against its Turkish overlord, and as the revolt continued, unrest and disorder spread through Turkey's European provinces.<sup>18</sup> Yet, although these disturbances were a source of constant preoccupation for three years, Stanley steadily refused to join in any collective action of the Powers to restore peace in the Near East. This application of the nonintervention principle was, in the light of the ambitions of some of the other powers, not entirely unjustifiable. But Britain's adherence to what Gortchakov called a policy of "political nihilism"<sup>19</sup> could not help having unfortunate effects. It not only prolonged the dangerous situation in the Near East but it very effectively destroyed the settlement of 1856. The Treaty of Paris had attempted to substitute collective action in the Near East for the separate action of single powers. English nonintervention destroyed the organic reality of such collective action and removed the one check upon the ambitions of the separate states.<sup>20</sup> When, however, Stanley was warned of this probable result of his attitude, and when he was reminded of Britain's guarantee of Turkey, he bluntly stated that "it seemed certain to him, in the light of his knowledge of the feelings animating England at present that the Government of the Queen will not take it upon themselves to defend the integrity of the Ottoman Empire by force, as they would have done in another time, except perhaps in the case of the possession of Constantinople itself being put in question."<sup>21</sup> This was an implied repudiation of the guarantee of April 15, 1856, and its inevitable consequence, as Rheindorf has suggested, was Russia's violation of the Black Sea clauses in 1871.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The most complete account of the Cretan situation is Edouard Driault and Michel Lhéritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce* (Paris, 1925), III, livre 2. For British policy throughout the revolt, see "Correspondence respecting the Disturbances in Crete," *Great Britain: Accounts and Papers* (1867), LXXIV (3771), L/C, Feb. 7, 1867; "Further Correspondence," *Accounts and Papers* (1867-68), LXXIII (3965-11), L/C, Dec. 2, 1867-May 21, 1868; "Correspondence respecting the Rupture of Diplomatic Relations between Turkey and Greece," *Accounts and Papers* (1868-69), LXIV (4116), L/C, Mar. 2, 1869.

<sup>19</sup> E. Charles Roux, *Alexandre II, Gortchakoff, et Napoleon III* (Paris, 1913), p. 453.

<sup>20</sup> The return to separate action on the part of the powers was clearly forecast when the Russian government, supported by Prussia, France, and Italy, announced that, in view of the failure of the Turkish government to liquidate the disorders in Crete and in view of its failure to follow the advice of the powers, the Porte must accept responsibility for all future consequences of its policy. See Driault and Lhéritier, III, 219; *Great Britain: Accounts and Papers* (1867-68), LXXIII, nos. 282, 283; *Les Origines diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-71*, XVIII, nos. 5770, 5771; hereinafter cited as *Origines*.

<sup>21</sup> Kurt Rheindorf, *Die Schwarze-Meer-(Pontus-) Frage* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 62 ff.

<sup>22</sup> In this connection it is interesting to note that, as early as January, 1868, there was a feeling in the Russian foreign office that Britain, at least as long as Lord Stanley was in office, would accept a *fait accompli* in the Near East. See Reuss to Bismarck, Jan. 17, 1868, in *Die Auswärtige Politik Preussens, 1858-1871; Diplomatische Aktenstücke*, hrsgb. von der Historischen Reichskommission unter Leitung von Erich Brandenburg, Otto Hoetzsch, Hermann Oncken (Oldenburg, 1932-), IX, no. 515; and Rheindorf, p. 63.



By the end of 1868 when the Derby-Disraeli ministry fell from office, the systematic application of nonintervention had led to an almost complete withdrawal from European affairs. In the revision of the Mutiny Act, Britain had disclaimed any interest in alterations of the balance of power. In the Luxemburg affair, the government had shown an extreme reluctance to assume new treaty obligations and a more extreme reluctance to honor them when assumed. In its conduct of eastern affairs, it had cast grave doubt upon its willingness to uphold obligations already undertaken. All of this could not but damage Britain's prestige in Europe. But it remained for the new Liberal ministry to carry this policy of retreat even farther, by showing that not even Britain's long-standing guarantee of Belgium was safe in the new age of non-intervention. England's desire to escape from the Continent was never more clearly illustrated than in an incident which has never been fully treated from English sources, namely, the curious episode of the Belgian railways in 1869.

The affair which Emile Ollivier later called "*l'hallucination des chemins de fer belges*" was, like the crisis over Luxemburg in 1867, a tempest in a teapot caused by the desire of France to strengthen her eastern frontiers. Unlike the earlier crisis, however, it was not initiated by the French but had its inception in certain financial plans of Belgian railway speculators.

The Belgian railway system in 1868 represented a curious mixture of private and state ownership. The government had built many of the lines and operated them as state enterprises. There were, however, other lines which had been ceded to private companies. This was especially true of the eastern part of the country, the chief railroads of which were owned by two companies. The first of these, the Compagnie du Grand Luxemburg, operated the line which ran from Luxemburg north to Marloie and there split into two branches, one of which went to Brussels, the other to Liège. A second private corporation, the Compagnie du Liègeois-Limbourgeois, controlled the railway which ran from Liège, by way of Limburg, to the border of the Netherlands.

In 1868, both these private companies were heavily in debt. Because of financial mismanagement, unwise speculation, and excessive jobbing, their income barely exceeded their operating costs. In the case of the Grand Luxemburg line, it was estimated that thirty per cent of the original capital had been squandered. The company had no funds to make necessary improvements, and since 1866 its dividend payments had been highly irregular.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> "Memorandum on the Attempted Transfer to the French Société de l'Est of the Belgian Grand Luxemburg and Liège-Limburg Railways. Printed solely for the use of the Cabinet, 12 March 1869." FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 274, confidential, Mar. 16, 1869, enc.

The financial status of the company was so bad that, in March, 1868, its board of directors had urged the Belgian government to repurchase the line.<sup>24</sup> They had received no encouragement and were forced to turn elsewhere in their search for financial salvation. In October, 1868, company representatives arrived in Paris to propose that their road be taken over by the French Compagnie de l'Est.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, a certain Baron Hirsch, leading stockholder in the Liège-Limburg Company, opened negotiations with the Compagnie de l'Est for the purchase of his line.<sup>26</sup>

The interest shown by the French company in these proposals is easily explained. In January, 1868, the Compagnie de l'Est had concluded a railway convention with a private corporation operating in the grand duchy of Luxemburg. By this agreement, the French company had taken over the operation of all lines controlled by the Compagnie Guillaume-Luxemburg for a period of forty-five years and agreed to pay a fixed annuity for this privilege. The Compagnie Guillaume-Luxemburg ceded to the French society the railway running from the Swiss border to the city of Luxemburg and, in addition, a line which crossed the Belgian frontier and ran to the environs of Liège. It was apparent that, if new arrangements were made with the two Belgian companies, their railways would serve as an extension of this system, and the Compagnie de l'Est would dominate the stretch of territory which flanked the Rhine from Switzerland to the Dutch frontier.<sup>27</sup>

The French company did not possess the resources to enable it to take over the Belgian railways unassisted. But behind the Compagnie de l'Est stood the French government. It had already promised to indemnify the company for any losses sustained in the operation of the Guillaume-Luxemburg lines. In view of the economic and strategic advantages promised from the possession of the Belgian roads,<sup>28</sup> it could be expected to do the same again.

The Belgian government was well informed as to the course of the negotiations in Paris. The chief representative of the Compagnie du Grand Luxem-

<sup>24</sup> The best account of the financial difficulties of the companies and their plans to escape them is in Paul Hymans, *Frère-Orban* (Brussels, 1905), II, 155 ff.

<sup>25</sup> FO Belgium/293; from Lumley, no. 100, Mar. 12, 1869.

<sup>26</sup> Hymans, II, 163 ff.

<sup>27</sup> The British minister in Brussels reported that "by means of an apparently simple Railway speculation, the French Govt., without appearing in the matter, would for all strategic purposes have held within its grasp the Kingdoms of Belgium and the Netherlands." FO Belgium/294; from Lumley, no. 120, confidential, Mar. 21, 1869.

<sup>28</sup> The economic advantages of the system planned were as important as the strategic. Belgian iron works at Liège and Charleroi depended to a large extent on ore shipments from Luxemburg. Once the French company controlled the sole system of transportation, rates could be manipulated in such a way as to benefit the iron works in northeastern France which were competing with the Belgian firms. FO Belgium/298; from Lumley, no. 1, commercial, Jan. 1, 1869; no. 2, commercial, Jan. 2, 1869; no. 6, commercial, Jan. 10, 1869.

burg was M. Tesch, former Belgian minister of justice. It is interesting to note that, in advising the government of the company's intentions, he pointed out that several of the company directors were Englishmen, and he intimated that the British government would frown upon any governmental interference with the excellent bargain which was being arranged.<sup>29</sup> It is doubtful whether the Belgian government was convinced of the truth of this argument, but it is strange that it should have done nothing to block the negotiations in their early stages. It was not until December 12 that M. Jamar, the minister of public works, announced publicly that the proposed cession could not take place without the consent of the government and that such consent would never be given.<sup>30</sup> By that time, the preliminary arrangements for the cession of the two Belgian roads to the Compagnie de l'Est had been made in Paris.

The Belgian government had assumed that Jamar's proclamation would end all talk of cession. In this, it was mistaken. The company representatives in Paris assured the French that their government would give way as soon as the agreements were ratified. This view was echoed by La Guéronnière, the French minister in Brussels, an ardent advocate of French absorption of Belgium. La Guéronnière informed the Quai d'Orsay that Belgian consent was inevitable, first, because the Belgian government had no legal right to block the cession and, second, because "men of affairs" in Belgium would not suffer interference with their material interests.<sup>31</sup> In Paris, the Belgian minister, Baron de Beyens, worked hard to convince the directors of the Compagnie de l'Est of the resoluteness of his government's opposition but found all of his efforts unavailing.

Beyens discovered also that, whenever the French company showed the slightest hesitation, it was prodded on by officials of the French government, especially by Rouher, the "vice-emperor," and Gressier, the imperial minister of works.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, thanks to La Guéronnière's enthusiastic reports from Brussels, the French government had decided to make the railway cession

<sup>29</sup> The foreign office papers show that the English directors of the Compagnie du Grand-Luxembourg did attempt to persuade Lord Clarendon, the British foreign secretary, to intercede in their behalf. On March 11, 1869, they sent a report to the foreign office, arguing their legal right to cede their line to the Compagnie de l'Est. In the event that the Belgian government should persist in its opposition, they requested that Clarendon should persuade that government to purchase the line in question. In the accompanying letter, Mr. W. Fenton, the chairman of the board of directors, wrote, "I feel confident that my own interests and the interests of my company are safe in your Lordship's hands and that you will not willingly see a great injustice committed upon British subjects. I would not for the world that France should touch Belgium with its little finger; but I *do* object to our property being offered up on the altar of Belgian patriotism." Clarendon politely refused to intercede. FO France/1384; to Lyons, no. 298, Mar. 23, 1869, enc.

<sup>30</sup> Emile Banning, *Les Origines et les phases de la neutralité belge* (Brussels, 1927), p. 225.

<sup>31</sup> *Origines*, XXII, no. 7072; from La Guéronnière, Dec. 17, 1868.

<sup>32</sup> Hyman, II, 175-78.

an objective of official policy. Despite Beyens' remonstrances, the Compagnie de l'Est, on January 30, 1869, concluded agreements with both the Grand Luxemburg and the Liège-Limburg companies, assuming the exploitation of their lines for a period of forty-three years. The agreements were to be submitted for the approval of the French and Belgian governments "*en tant que de besoin*."<sup>33</sup>

The forcing play in Paris strengthened, rather than weakened, Belgium's resistance to the railway project and led the government to translate its feeling into legal terms. At the beginning of February, Frère-Orban, the leader of the government, summoned a ministerial council and proceeded to draw up a *projet du loi* for submission to the chambers. The *projet* stated simply that private railroad societies in Belgium could cede the lines for which they were concessionaires only with the consent of the government. In cases of infraction of this rule, the government would take over the lines, although the companies would be allowed recourse to the courts for the recovery of losses.

This law, at once a warning to the *actionnaires* in Paris and a measure of security for the future, was introduced in the lower chamber on February 6. In his argument for passage, on February 13, Frère-Orban was careful to avoid making any allusions to the political significance of the pending action of the Belgian railway companies. He stressed only the economic issues involved, and his case was stated so clearly that the bill passed with little debate.<sup>34</sup> A week later, the *projet* was passed by the senate, and became the law of the land.

With the passage of the law, this petty dispute over railway rights, like so many relatively insignificant questions in this period, was transported to the higher ground of diplomatic controversy. The French government could no longer hide behind the Compagnie de l'Est. Indeed, before the *projet* had moved up to the senate, La Guéronnière had warned Frère-Orban that France found Belgium's conduct inexplicable and insulting. To Frère's insistence that he had no intention of insulting France, and that newspaper reports had given the *projet* "*une apparence trompeuse*," the French minister replied that that in itself was sufficient cause for complaint. "A great nation like France," he said, "must not be wounded. Not only that, but people must not be given the impression that she can be wounded."<sup>35</sup> In Paris, the semi-official press was unleashed, and, with one accord, these journals announced that there was but one possible explanation for the Belgian position, namely,

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 177.

<sup>34</sup> A full discussion of the debate is given in Hymans, II, 185 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Origines*, XXIII, no. 7237; from La Guéronnière, Feb. 16, 1869.

that it was the result of a Prussian plot.<sup>86</sup> This theory, so readily adapted to all causes of French irritation in this period, was taken up by the emperor himself. On February 16 Napoleon told the Belgian minister that he must not underestimate the gravity of the railway question. "The truth is," he said, "that M. Frère-Orban has premeditated all of this, that he went expressly to Berlin, and that the matter was concerted with Bismarck. . . . I shall insist that the law be repealed."<sup>87</sup>

Ollivier has printed a very interesting dispatch which leaves no doubt as to the emperor's intentions. Writing to Marshal Niel on February 19, Napoleon spoke plainly of the possibility of war and annexation.

A government, like a man, must accept the challenge when it is provoked and, when the occasion presents itself, must seize it in order to prove its virility. What is the question posed today? The Belgian Government is demonstrating its ill-will toward France, and public opinion is convinced, rightly or wrongly, that Belgium would not be so arrogant were not Prussia behind her. In these circumstances, to be conciliatory and to retreat in the face of a proceeding which injures us would be to surrender, before the face of Europe, all our legitimate influence. Must war arise out of this conflict? I do not know. But it is necessary to act as if it will arise.<sup>88</sup>

The emperor then discussed the great advantages which would result from a war with Belgium at this time. He raised the question of Prussia's position in such an eventuality and concluded that, although Bismarck might interfere, he would probably adopt the more prudent course of using the occasion to annex the South German states. But the most interesting feature of the letter is to be found in its omissions rather than in its content. It contains not a single reference to England.

There can perhaps be found no better illustration of the complete disregard in which England was held at this time. For the neutrality and independence of Belgium was protected by an English guarantee, and the security of Belgium had long been regarded as a vital British interest. Since 1831, when Palmerston had threatened war "in a given number of days" unless French troops were withdrawn from the country,<sup>89</sup> no one had doubted England's willingness to stand by Belgium. There was good reason to doubt it in 1869. Though the railway question had been public property for over two months, the British foreign office had maintained an almost complete, even if uneasy, silence.

<sup>86</sup> See the report of the Paris correspondent in the *Times*, Feb. 22, 1869. It points out that the only *independent* newspaper which joined this campaign was *Liberté*, whose editor, Emile Girardin, was an ardent advocate of Belgian annexation. See also *Origines*, XXIII, no. 7245 and notes.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIII, no. 7249, note.

<sup>88</sup> Emile Ollivier, *L'Empire libéral* (Paris, 1895), XI, 375 f.

<sup>89</sup> Sir Henry Bulwer, *Life of Viscount Palmerston* (London, 1870-76), II, 108.

In England, Queen Victoria had been the first to see danger for Belgium in the railway cession. In January, 1869, aroused by a series of worried letters from King Leopold of Belgium, she had expressed her concern to the foreign office and insisted that the government make clear its willingness to uphold the Belgian guarantee.<sup>40</sup> Lord Clarendon, at the foreign office, had, however, no desire to make such a statement. Intervention in the railway dispute, he felt, might very well involve Great Britain in the slowly evolving duel between France and Prussia. Such involvement could be not only embarrassing but, in view of the tense relations between Britain and the United States at this time, actually dangerous. Despite the advice of the queen, therefore, Clarendon not only refused to act but, with an impulsive irritability, blamed the Brussels government for having allowed the railway question to become one of European interest. Gladstone, although the responsible head of the cabinet, seems not to have interfered directly. He defended Clarendon to the queen and in general left the matter in Clarendon's hands.

When the Belgian government first brought the railway question to his attention, Clarendon had urged it "to put a stop to the sale, not by a veto, but by a purchase of the railways."<sup>41</sup> The Belgian government had answered that, for financial and political reasons, this was impossible, and that, among other things, such purchase would cause every bankrupt railway company in Belgium to demand the same treatment.<sup>42</sup> The British foreign secretary showed a tendency to regard this decision as the root of the trouble which ensued.

Thus, when in February, 1869, the policy of the French government led people to expect English intervention, Clarendon was fully as critical of Belgian policy as he was of French, and this fact prevented his advice from having any deterrent effect in Paris. On February 18, he instructed Lyons to point out at the Quai d'Orsay that Belgium had every right to pass legislation affecting her own railway system and that he had reason to believe that there was no justification for the claims that the Belgian actions were inspired in Berlin.<sup>43</sup> But in communicating these opinions to the French ambassador in London, Clarendon moderated his tone considerably and spent a good part of the interview expressing regret at the *maladresse* of the Belgians. Prince La Tour d'Auvergne placed considerable emphasis upon this fact in his report,<sup>44</sup> which naturally weakened the effect of Lyons' communication. For

<sup>40</sup> Lord Newton, *Lord Lyons, a Record of British Diplomacy* (London, 1913), I, 212.

<sup>41</sup> FO Belgium/133; to Lumley, no. 6, Jan. 16, 1869.

<sup>42</sup> FO Belgium/292; from Lumley, no. 36, confidential, Jan. 30, 1869.

<sup>43</sup> FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 195, confidential, Feb. 18, 1869.

<sup>44</sup> *Origines*, XXIII, no. 7248; from La Tour d'Auvergne, confidential, Feb. 18, 1869.

the French government was not contesting Belgium's right to pass railway legislation but was accusing the Brussels government of insulting France without warning before the eyes of Europe.<sup>45</sup>

The French government must have been equally encouraged by the attitude taken by the *Times*. The erstwhile *Thunderer* confessed that its sympathies were "in favor of unrestricted commercial enterprise, and particularly of such amalgamations or working conventions between the Continental railroad lines as shall facilitate traffic and give the greatest advantages to the public."<sup>46</sup> It absolved the French government from all suspicion and maintained that Belgium's caution was

in this instance overstrained. An agreement that the French "Est" should manage and work the Arlon line can no more threaten the independence of Belgium than an agreement that the French "Nord" should work the London, Chatham and Dover would facilitate the invasion of England.<sup>47</sup>

It soon became apparent that Napoleon III did not deserve this confidence and was bent upon gaining satisfaction from Belgium. The British ambassador in Paris reported on March 4 that the irritation in Paris had not subsided. There was a prevalent notion, he added, that, if France attempted to annex Belgium, Prussia would raise no objections, and "it is doubted whether, if Prussia connived at the spoliation, England would be willing, or indeed able, to make any effectual resistance to it."<sup>48</sup> Two days later, Lumley, the minister in Brussels, reported that France was demanding the appointment of a mixed commission which would examine the question of the railway contracts and "the questions attached to it." In case of a Belgian refusal, La Guéronnière was to be recalled from Brussels.<sup>49</sup>

Even after the receipt of this news, Clarendon was reluctant to exert any pressure in Paris. He sent a mild dispatch to Lord Lyons, the ambassador in Paris, suggesting that France should call in a third party to mediate in the dispute rather than break off diplomatic relations.<sup>50</sup> Lyons, who was quite as prudent as his chief, did not communicate even this suggestion. He reported,

<sup>45</sup> In his instructions to La Guéronnière, La Valette stressed the fact that the Belgian government had introduced the railway law without making any attempt to inform the French government officially of its opposition to the project. *Origines*, XXIII, no. 7242. La Tour indicated that Clarendon shared the opinion that this conduct had been ill-advised.

<sup>46</sup> *Times*, Feb. 19, 1869. The *Economist* went farther in stressing the economic issues involved and wrote (no. 1331, Feb. 27): "Whatever may be the result of the controversy, it is hoped that, the Great-Luxemburg line having been constructed in a great degree by means of English capital, the interests of the proprietors will not be sacrificed to political considerations."

<sup>47</sup> *Times*, Feb. 23, 1869. This attitude was strongly criticized by the *Pall Mall Budget* (Feb. 27, 1869), while the *Saturday Review* (XXVII [Feb. 20, 1869], 232) said of an earlier and similar leader that "such writing as this can only be characterized as a disgrace to the nation."

<sup>48</sup> FO France/1749; from Lyons, no. 249, very confidential, Mar. 4, 1869.

<sup>49</sup> FO Belgium/293; from Lumley, no. 87, Mar. 6, 1869.

<sup>50</sup> FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 241, confidential, Mar. 6.



on March 8, that he was confident that Napoleon's ambitions would be checked by the natural caution of La Valette, the foreign minister, and that, under the circumstances, it might be well to persuade Belgium to agree to the plan of a mixed commission.<sup>51</sup>

The Belgian government, which considered the railway question closed, had not the slightest inclination to give way to such a plan. It was, indeed, the extreme resistance of the government that made Clarendon amenable to Lyons' suggestion, for it revived his former belief that the railway incident was a plot to involve England in the Continent. He was, for instance, extremely startled by a telegram from Lumley which read, "The King is confident that Your Lordship will let him know whether and when you think he should commence military preparations."<sup>52</sup> Clarendon telegraphed immediately that any military proceedings were out of the question and instructed his minister to urge the Belgian government to agree to the French plan.<sup>53</sup> After some hesitation the Belgians agreed to send a delegate to Paris, as "*un témoignage de déférence pour les conseils du gouvernement anglais.*"<sup>54</sup>

Once the Belgian government had made this concession to France, it fully expected British support in the ensuing negotiations. In England, too, there was a strong feeling in influential quarters that the foreign office should make a declaration which would restrain France during the Paris talks, and this became so insistent that Clarendon was forced to make certain concessions to it.

He did so, however, in characteristic fashion. On March 16 he addressed a long dispatch to Lyons. He spoke of "the value and importance attached not only by Her Majesty's Government but by the people of England also to the alliance with France." The intimacy between the two governments made it possible for him to express, without fear of misunderstanding, "apprehensions respecting eventualities which appear to be possible." This clumsy phrase apparently referred to the Belgian difficulty, for the foreign secretary spoke at length of the great sympathy which the English people felt for Belgium and of England's position as one of the guarantors of that state. He then alluded cautiously to the possibility of a French attack on Belgium. This, he said, would have very grave consequences for the emperor, for Belgium was protected by the guarantee of 1839 and "an engagement so solemn and

<sup>51</sup> FO France/1750; from Lyons, no. 268, very confidential, Mar. 8.

<sup>52</sup> FO Belgium/293; from Lumley, telegram, Mar. 9.

<sup>53</sup> In an instruction to Lyons on March 17, Clarendon wrote that the Belgians were trying to make the English government "co-partners in any responsibility they may incur in dealing with the French proposals; but Her Majesty's Government can not allow this to be so assumed by the Belgian Government." FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 284.

<sup>54</sup> Baron Beyens, *Le Second Empire, vu par un diplomate belge* (Paris, 1924), II, 347.

for so many years religiously respected could hardly remain a dead letter now." Clarendon did not say directly that England would be prepared or willing to act. He contented himself with saying that "in view of the armaments and the rivalries *in Europe* [*italics mine*], Her Majesty's Government think that they cannot be taxed with exaggeration when they declare their apprehension that war would ensue." In such an event "the interruption of cordial relations with France" would be inevitable.<sup>55</sup>

Although neither a menacing nor an unequivocal dispatch, this document did include a warning which could not be without effect in Paris. But the warning was never delivered. The foreign secretary, in his concluding paragraph, gave Lyons no instructions for its use, but indicated that the manner and the time of its delivery would be left to the discretion of the ambassador.

This expression of confidence was not entirely pleasing to Lord Lyons. On March 17, he wrote:

The language of the Despatch is very guarded and very friendly towards France; but without reference to the particular language used, the French Government will certainly consider the step taken—the "démarche" as they will term it—as equivalent to a serious warning or, to speak plainly, to a threat.

If England wished to threaten France, he pointed out, the dispatch would be most effective if it included a definite statement authorizing Lyons to read it to M. La Valette at a given time. He preferred, accordingly, to await such specific instructions. In his personal opinion, however, any such threat might have an effect contrary to that hoped. The emperor "may feel, or in all events declare, that the intervention of Her Majesty's Government has made it impossible for him to deal with the Belgian Question in the conciliatory manner he intended." In that case, war would ensue.<sup>56</sup>

The responsibility for the *démarche*, if there was to be one, reverted to the foreign secretary, and, after reading Lyons' dispatch, he decided that silence was the more prudent counsel. Accordingly, he wrote on March 18 that he had decided to await the outcome of Frère-Orban's visit to Paris before taking the step suggested in his dispatch of March 16.<sup>57</sup>

This was curious conduct for a nation supposed to be vitally interested in Belgian security. But Clarendon and Lyons were operating upon the assump-

<sup>55</sup> FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 266, very confidential, Mar. 16, 1869.

<sup>56</sup> FO France/1750; from Lyons, no. 297, Mar. 17, 1869.

<sup>57</sup> FO France/1383; to Lyons, no. 287, Mar. 18. The writers of the two most complete discussions of the Belgian railways dispute, Rheindorf (*Deutsche Rundschau*, CXCV, 118) and Michael (*Bismarck, England und Europa*, p. 228), give the impression that the English *démarche* was made, despite Lyons' dispatch, "a few days later." This view is certainly mistaken and seems to be based upon an undated private letter, reproduced in Newton (*Lord Lyons*, I, 216), in which Clarendon expressed the belief that the warning *might* have to be sent to Paris. No English pressure, however, was brought to bear in Paris at this time.

tion that time and English silence would solve the dispute. In Belgium's agreement to enter discussion in Paris, they saw hope for a solution, and Lyons believed that this had removed the question "from the dangerous ground of international dignity on which it had been placed."<sup>58</sup>

In Brussels, Frère-Orban hoped that this was true. He was quite willing, he told the English minister, to discuss in Paris means of improving the commercial relations between France and Belgium. He had little confidence, however, in the emperor's willingness to limit the talks to that subject. He suspected that the French "would try to extort from the Belgian Government its consent to the draft contracts," and he pointed out that "any minister who would consent to them would sign the death warrant of the independence of Belgium."<sup>59</sup> To safeguard Belgium's interests, the minister president decided to go to Paris himself.

Frère-Orban's fears were strengthened by the conduct of the French minister in Brussels. La Guéronnière had been delighted by the Belgian acceptance of a mixed commission, which he interpreted as a complete surrender to France.<sup>60</sup> Before Frère left for Paris, the French minister made it his duty to advise him to accept the railway conventions without hesitation. He pointed out that the position of Europe made Belgian neutrality impossible. Treaties, he said, had an ideal value, but they no longer protected small states. In the circumstances, "*la Belgique doit dorénavant pencher vers la France.*"<sup>61</sup> Nor were the apprehensions aroused by this advice completely removed by Frère's first conversation with Napoleon III after reaching Paris. For the emperor, in a long and rambling conversation, expressed regret that Louis Philippe had not succeeded in uniting France and Belgium and said that, although such union was, perhaps, unnecessary now, it should be the task of today's statesmen to remove all barriers between the two countries.<sup>62</sup>

The commissioners appointed to deal with Frère-Orban were La Valette, Rouher, and Gressier. They gave concrete expression to the emperor's hopes by demanding outright that Belgium assent to the conclusion of the conventions between the Compagnie de l'Est and the Belgian roads. Frère was able to delay his decision until April 12 by securing permission to make alternative proposals. He had determined, however, to concede to the French company only certain tariff adjustments and rights of way and to insist that the railways

<sup>58</sup> FO France/1751; from Lyons, no. 314, Mar. 23, 1869.

<sup>59</sup> FO Belgium/294; from Lumley, no. 125, confidential, Mar. 23, 1869.

<sup>60</sup> See his very interesting report of Mar. 28, *Origines*, XXIV, no. 7358.

<sup>61</sup> This advice was not conveyed directly to Frère-Orban but to the secretary general of the foreign ministry. A memorandum, written by the latter, appears in Hymans, II, 232 f.

<sup>62</sup> Hymans, II, 240. Lumley found the king of the Belgians extremely agitated by the news of this conversation. FO Belgium/294; from Lumley, no. 152, private and confidential, Apr. 11.

in question remain under Belgian control.<sup>63</sup> He embodied this decision in a memorandum which was submitted to the French representatives.

When discussions reopened on April 16, it became apparent that a rupture between the two parties was almost inevitable. The French commissioners declared flatly that the counterproposals were inadequate and used every argument in their power to make Frère give way. This he refused to do, insisting that "for Belgium to accept the treaties, even with some modifications, would be to admit that the independence of the country was an empty word."<sup>64</sup> There was a memorable incident on April 20, when Frère threatened to appeal to the powers who had guaranteed Belgian independence in 1839. At this suggestion, Rouher rose abruptly from the conference table and, striding into the anteroom, cried, "It is evident that Prussia is behind all this. But—sooner war than surrender! In any event, sooner or later, that war is inevitable. The Prince Imperial will never reign unless Sadowa is wiped out. *Eh bien!* If they want it, let there be war!"<sup>65</sup>

The threatening attitude of the French made some action on the part of England imperative. Clarendon was still reluctant to apply pressure to France and he had used his influence in newspaper circles to restrict public discussion of the railway dispute as much as possible.<sup>66</sup> He had no such means, however, of restraining his sovereign. In a letter to her foreign secretary on April 15, Queen Victoria raised once more the question of England's guarantee to Belgium, insisting that "if it were to be generally understood that we could not any longer be relied upon, except for moral support, England would soon lose her position in Europe."<sup>67</sup>

The foreign secretary's answer to this letter showed not only that he was still irritated at Belgium but that his conception of England's obligation to that country was far different from that of the queen. He accused Belgium of holding out England's material force as a menace to her "real or supposed enemies," and added:

it is the duty, as Lord Clarendon humbly conceives, of your Majesty's Government to consider the interests of England, and not to disguise from themselves the many difficulties of our position and the exceeding delicacy of calling upon Parliament to give effect to Treaties which, if public opinion years ago had been what it now is, would not have been sanctioned. It seems to be the duty of your Majesty's Government to bear in mind how widely different are the circumstances of this country now to when those Treaties were concluded and that, if their execution were to lead us into war in Europe, we should find ourselves immediately called upon to defend Canada from American invasion.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Banning, p. 228.

<sup>64</sup> Hymans, II, 261.

<sup>65</sup> Ollivier, XI, 384. Beyens, II, 350 f.

<sup>66</sup> *Origines*, XXIV, no. 7339; from La Tour d'Auvergne, confidential, Mar. 19, 1869.

<sup>67</sup> *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 2d series, I, 589.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 590.

The foreign secretary tried to gild this pill by adding that he hoped England would always fulfill her obligations when "rightfully called upon" to do so. The queen, however, was deeply distressed. There was, she pointed out, a disposition on the Continent to believe that England is not to be moved, either by interest, or the obligations of Treaties, into giving more than *moral* support in any complications that may arise, and that the aggressive Power may dismiss all fears of finding "England across its path."<sup>69</sup>

This feeling endangered the cause of peace. England must make clear her willingness to stand by her pledges on the Continent. An expression of the queen's concern was also transmitted to Mr. Gladstone, with the remark that Clarendon's conduct was "so *very* curiously guarded, as to be hardly *straightforward*."<sup>70</sup>

The queen's demand for more vigorous action coincided with the reports of increasing friction in Paris. Clarendon was losing what confidence he had had in the French government, and he wrote sadly to Lyons, "I did not think they would have exposed the cloven foot so soon and completely as they have done."<sup>71</sup> On April 21, he made the *démarche* which he had withdrawn a month earlier. His language was still not wholly straightforward, nor did he make England's position entirely clear. But he indicated that the English government saw no reason for France's demand for the ratification of the railway contracts. Persistence in this course would cause the public opinion of Europe to "lean to the belief that the independence of Belgium was menaced by France." If this were true, the cordial relations between England and France would, of necessity, be interrupted, an eventuality which could not appear desirable to the French government.<sup>72</sup>

The reaction of the French foreign minister to this communication was primarily one of surprise. His rejoinder, sent to La Tour d'Auvergne in London on April 25, is a curious blend of injured innocence and incredulity. He insisted, and this was perhaps only natural, that France had not the slightest intention of violating the neutrality and independence of Belgium. But implicit in La Valette's dispatch is an admission that the French government had expected no English intervention. After all, the foreign minister seemed to say, England had known about the dispute from the beginning; she had actually supported the French demand for a mixed commission; and it was surely illogical for her now to make scarcely veiled accusations against France.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 592.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 593.

<sup>71</sup> Newton, I, 217.

<sup>72</sup> FO France/1386; to Lyons, no. 428, Apr. 22, 1869. *Origines*, XXIV, no. 7404; from La Tour d'Auvergne, confidential, Apr. 22.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, no. 7415; La Valette to La Tour d'Auvergne, minute, Apr. 25.

Nevertheless, the French gave way very soon after the communication of Clarendon's dispatch. On April 27 the French commissioners surrendered completely to Frère-Orban's terms. In the protocol signed on that date, they admitted that they would forego the execution of the railway contracts which had been concluded with the Compagnie de l'Est. They saved face by appointing a new commission to draw up service conventions between the French and Belgian roads, but they guaranteed the incontestable right of Belgium to control and regulate the lines within her borders.<sup>74</sup>

On the surface, this withdrawal on the part of France represented a diplomatic victory for England. There is reason to doubt, however, whether Clarendon's dispatch of April 22 had exercised, in itself, a decisive influence in Paris. The French government was fully cognizant of England's reluctance to become involved in Continental struggles, and it was well aware of England's transatlantic difficulties.<sup>75</sup> Lyons had reported that there was a feeling in Paris that England would do nothing to prevent an attack on Belgium, especially if Prussia remained neutral.<sup>76</sup> But in April, the French government had begun to suspect not only that Prussia would no longer remain indifferent but that she was urging England to act and promising support if she should do so. This suspicion was borne out, at the very moment when La Valette was pondering Clarendon's note, by a dispatch from the French ambassador in London. La Tour reported a confidential conversation with Clarendon on April 23 in which the latter had intimated that Bismarck "was in entire agreement with the views of England and was ready, if it were possible, to enter into *pourparlers* with her on the subject of this affair."<sup>77</sup>

Reviewing the railways dispute at a later date, Bismarck claimed that Great Britain had prevented French absorption of Belgium in 1869, not by making manifest her own determination to prevent such an event but rather by bringing Prussia into the dispute without specific authorization from Berlin.<sup>78</sup> A brief consideration of the relations between England and Prussia during the railway dispute will show perhaps what justification there was for that charge.

The Prussian government had maintained a very reserved attitude

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIV, no. 7424, note.

<sup>75</sup> Michael, p. 249, n. 43.

<sup>76</sup> FO France/1749; from Lyons, no. 249, very confidential, Mar. 4, 1869.

<sup>77</sup> *Origines*, XXIV, no. 7412. According to Newton (*Lord Lyons*, I, 218), Clarendon advised Lyons on April 19 that "we might tomorrow, if we pleased, enter into a coalition with Prussia against France for the protection of Belgian independence." There is nothing in the foreign office documents to prove that Lyons ever used that information in his conversations with the French foreign minister, although it has been assumed that he did. (See, for instance, Michael, p. 248.) The dispatch, quoted above, proves beyond doubt that Clarendon himself warned the French of the possibility of an Anglo-Prussian understanding.

<sup>78</sup> Bismarck, *Gesammelte Werke*, VIb, no. 1383, intro.

throughout the early stages of the affair. At the beginning of the French agitation against Belgium there had been considerable expression of sympathy for Belgium in the press, and an occasional hint that Prussia should protect her.<sup>79</sup> Bismarck, however, who had been extremely irritated by the hesitant policy followed by England during the eastern crisis, was determined to take no initiative in the matter. Belgium, he maintained, was the special charge of Great Britain. If Britain was ever to abandon the sterile policy of nonintervention which had of late years ruled her counsels, she would do so in the present crisis. But she would have to take the first step herself.

Count Bernstorff, the Prussian ambassador in London, was instructed, then, to refrain from committing his government in any way but, at the same time, to discover, as quietly as possible, how far England was prepared to go in defense of Belgium. At the beginning of March, Bernstorff was forced to report that he could get nothing but commonplaces from government spokesmen and that not one of them was prepared to state whether England would honor her pledge to Belgium. When King Wilhelm had read Bernstorff's reports, he wrote to Bismarck, "It seems to me that we must go along with England in the Belgian affair; and yet, in doing so, let us not pull any chestnuts out of the fire, for I firmly refuse to believe that England will set a single man or a single dollar in motion if it comes to blows!"<sup>80</sup>

Bismarck was apparently of the same opinion and, in a long conversation with Lord Loftus on March 12, he made the Prussian position clear. On the basis of Bismarck's declaration, the British ambassador formed the opinion that the Question of the Independence of Belgium was especially one of importance and interest to Great Britain: that if that Independence were to be attacked, Prussia could not be expected to defend it alone and that consequently the course which Prussia might eventually take would depend entirely on the Policy of Great Britain.

Everything rested, in short, on "whether the Policy of non-intervention would still be maintained." If it were, Loftus received the impression that Bismarck would make the sacrifice of Belgium the basis of an understanding with France. If, on the other hand, England declared that she would resist any attack on Belgium by force, Loftus thought Bismarck would try to secure the alliance of Great Britain.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> "The *Cross Gazette* [*Kreuzzeitung*, Berlin] of this evening, in a leading article headed 'The Future of Belgium,' declares that it is to the interest of all the Great Powers that the independence and neutrality of that country should be preserved, adding that if, contrary to expectation, she should be threatened from any other quarter, Allied Germany must vigorously undertake her defence." "Latest Intelligence," *Times*, Feb. 4, 1869.

<sup>80</sup> Bismarck, Vlb, no. 1344, intro.

<sup>81</sup> FO Prussia/661; from Loftus, no. 131, most confidential, Mar. 13, 1869. This dispatch and that of April 17 are printed in the appendix to Veit Valentin, *Bismarck's Reichsgründung im Urteil englischer Diplomaten* (Amsterdam, 1937).



Bismarck intended to go even farther than this in his attempt to dislodge England from her position of abstention. On March 16 he prepared a long dispatch for communication to Bernstorff, which opened with a significant declaration.

The impossibility of being able to take into account England's influence in the political affairs of the continent is felt by us not only as a loss but indeed as a danger to peace, the more so because we are convinced that the weight of that influence will never fall into the scale on the side of wanton disturbances of European peace.

Bismarck recognized that England's close connection with Belgium had led her to entertain lively apprehensions as to the future security of that state. But what of the future security of Europe? The French agitations against Belgium were insignificant in comparison with France's constantly threatening attitude toward Germany. Prussia could not be expected to show an interest in Belgium until England became aware of the importance of the larger question. Specifically, England's willingness to assume some Continental obligations would best be expressed, and her interests would best be protected, by concluding "a firm and intimate alliance . . . with Germany for the preservation of the peace and for protection against every disturber of that peace and every act of aggression from without."<sup>82</sup>

Before Bismarck could send off this dispatch, he received another note from King Wilhelm. The king had been reading the Belgian press and he had found indications there "that England was already *cooling off* in the Belgian question!" Wilhelm, always impressed by questions of military importance, did not relish the prospect of Belgium becoming a French sphere of occupation or influence. Bismarck's professed indifference for Belgium, he said, might hasten such an eventuality, for it might easily make England "cool off entirely." Rather than run the risk of frightening the British government, the king instructed Bismarck to withhold the dispatch.<sup>83</sup>

The king, in this instance, seems to have had a better understanding of the position of the English government than his chief minister. Bernstorff reported on March 17 that Clarendon was becoming more cautious every day. The Prussian ambassador had asked him whether England would offer to "mediate" between France and Belgium in the event of a breakdown of the mixed commission in Paris. The foreign secretary had answered vaguely that he would be glad to "suggest" the mediation of a third power, but that he had to consider the delicate sensibilities of the emperor of the French. The

<sup>82</sup> Bismarck, VIIb, no. 1344; Bismarck to Bernstorff, Mar. 16, 1869, *reserviert*.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, VIIb, no. 1345, intro.

emperor might be insulted, Clarendon said, if England should mediate between France and such a small state as Belgium.<sup>84</sup>

More evidence of England's "cooling off" came from Florence. Arnim, the Prussian minister there, reported on April 1 that his English colleague, Lord Odo Russell, had, in an indiscreet moment, shown him some private letters which he had received from Clarendon. In one of these, the British foreign secretary had written, "Bismarck pretends that he will support Belgium in common with England, if England will determine to take the initiative. But I believe that he tries only to lurch us into a mess and that it is he who is supporting Napoleon in his *politique de brigandage*. . . . Above all, then, it is necessary to patch this business up in any way."<sup>85</sup> What sacrifices this patching-up process might entail for Belgium, the dispatch does not make clear; but it throws more light upon Clarendon's suspicion that everyone was trying to involve England in Continental difficulties. It was that feeling on his part which weakened his determination to make any declarations with regard to the Belgian guarantee.

It is interesting to note that the two persons most eager to support Belgium were the reigning sovereigns of England and Prussia. King Wilhelm was anxious to act with England in defense of Belgian independence, although he agreed with Bismarck that the first overtures must come from London. When Loftus came to the chancellery on April 12, it appeared that the long awaited news of England's position had come. To Bismarck's surprise, however, the English ambassador read a lengthy communication, the burden of which was that any Prussian move in the direction of Southern Germany would be unwise at present and would have a very bad effect on Franco-Prussian relations.

The Prussian minister, somewhat taken aback, pointed out that there had been no question of such a step and that, surely, the Belgian question was the one which should be occupying their attention. Loftus immediately indicated that he had no instructions on this matter. But Bismarck had now made up his mind to apply the pressure which he had withheld at the king's command. He repeated his arguments of March 12 and, using the king's phrase, said that if England was not ready to declare her willingness to support Belgium, "*ce n'est pas à nous de tirer les marrons du feu*." England professed to be worried about the South German question. She would have more reason for this fear if France were allowed to annex Belgium, for Prussia would look elsewhere for compensation. This startled the English ambassador, and he protested that this would be a "policy of robbers." But the policy of

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, VIb, no. 1351, intro.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, VIb, no. 1363, intro.

great states had always been governed by such considerations, Bismarck answered. If England disapproved of this tendency and wished to check it, she could easily do so. "If," said Count Bismarck, "you would only declare that whatever Power should wilfully break the Peace of Europe, would be looked upon by you as a common enemy—we will readily adhere to, and join you in that declaration—and such a course, if supported by the other Powers, would be the surest guarantee for the Peace of Europe."<sup>86</sup>

The report of this conversation—Clarendon referred to it as "a curious despatch from Loftus"<sup>87</sup>—arrived in London when the Paris talks were on the verge of breaking off and at a time when the queen's insistence upon English action had reached its height. Without making an official answer to the Prussian proposal,<sup>88</sup> Clarendon, as has already been indicated, intimated to the French ambassador that an agreement with Prussia was possible. The solution of the crisis was in part due to that declaration. Once the French had given way, the foreign secretary conveyed to Bismarck an expression of his gratitude for the conduct of Prussia throughout the dispute.<sup>89</sup> But he made no mention whatsoever of the Prussian plan for securing the peace of Europe.

King Wilhelm was delighted with this new check to French ambitions and expressed satisfaction at the *bonne entente* between England and Prussia.<sup>90</sup> Bismarck was not so well pleased. He had deliberately held Prussia aloof from the Belgian difficulty, making her potential intervention contingent upon either an English declaration of willingness to support Belgium by force, or an expression of her readiness to join Prussia in a common agreement against peacebreakers. The British government had satisfied neither condition, had pursued no straightforward and independent policy, and had finally projected Prussia into a conflict which, as Bismarck had insisted, was of no immediate concern to her. As a result, Bismarck felt, any irritation caused in France by this new disappointment would be directed, not against England, but against Prussia. After Loftus had expressed England's thanks for Prussia's aid, Bismarck wrote:

The Ambassador indicated that the knowledge of the existing *Fühlung* with Prussia made it possible for the English Cabinet to exercise a firm pressure in

<sup>86</sup> FO Prussia/662; from Loftus, no. 198, most confidential, Apr. 17, 1869. In his dispatch informing Bernstorff of this conversation, Bismarck used the words, "*eine gegenseitige Assekuranz aller Mächte gegen jeden Friedenstörer.*" Bismarck, VIb, no. 1368.

<sup>87</sup> Newton, I, 218.

<sup>88</sup> In a private letter to Lyons on April 19, Clarendon referred to the Prussian proposal as "a ruse to detach us from France" and added, "I did not choose that Bernstorff should have to report the slightest encouragement to the suggestion, but it may come to that after all." Newton, I, 218.

<sup>89</sup> FO Prussia/663; from Loftus, no. 235, confidential, May 8, 1869.

<sup>90</sup> Bismarck, VIb, no. 1383, intro.

Paris. In consequence, I am led to believe that, in Paris, they alluded more plainly to a coalition than can be to our interest. France's conduct in the future will certainly make clear to us to what extent England used her knowledge of our views in Paris, in order to impress the Emperor.<sup>91</sup>

To Bismarck, the conduct of the British government in the Belgian affair proved the stubbornness of its adhesion to the principle of nonintervention. England had been embarrassed by the threat to Belgian independence; she had been able to escape from that embarrassment by using the influence of Prussia.<sup>92</sup> But Prussia would scarcely be justified in expecting reciprocal services if she herself were threatened.<sup>93</sup> England's statesmen were still bereft of what Gladstone was fond of referring to as a "sense of Europe,"<sup>94</sup> and abstention from Continental disputes was still their guiding principle.

In England, the conduct of the government during the railways dispute was attacked by a few isolated critics. The *Saturday Review*, for instance, was annoyed because Belgium, so clearly in the right, had been forced to negotiate in Paris. Why, it asked, had not government spokesmen in Parliament put an end to the dispute at the outset by declaring their readiness to act, if necessary alone, upon the treaty which guaranteed Belgian neutrality?<sup>95</sup> Did not Britain's appeal to the forbearance of the aggressive power give color to the notion that the efficacy of the guarantee had been impaired?<sup>96</sup>

The answer to the latter question may be found in a letter which the prime minister wrote at the height of the crisis. Referring specifically to the Belgian guarantee, Mr. Gladstone had asserted that "England should keep entire in her own hands the means of estimating her own obligations upon the various states of facts as they arise . . . that it is dangerous for her to assume alone an advanced, and therefore an isolated position in regard to European controversies; that come what may, it is better for her to promise too little than too much."<sup>97</sup> Believing, as he did, that Britain must not be involved in Continental disputes, Gladstone was suspicious of all obligations undertaken by previous British governments. He feared that unequivocal recognition of such obligations might be the means of breaking down the isolation which he desired for England. Clarendon's refusal to admit that England would uphold the Belgian guarantee in 1869 therefore received the complete approval of the prime minister, who later declared that in any event,

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, Vlb, no. 1383; to Bernstorff, *ganz vertraulich*, May 4, 1869.

<sup>92</sup> See p. 755 above and n. 77.

<sup>93</sup> Bismarck, Vlb, no. 1385; to Reuss, *vertraulich*, May 7, 1869.

<sup>94</sup> John Morley, *Life of Gladstone* (London, 1904), II, 337.

<sup>95</sup> *Saturday Review*, XXVII (Mar. 20, 1869), 371.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVII (Apr. 24, 1869), 539.

<sup>97</sup> Morley, II, 318.

“a guarantee gave the right of interference [but] it did not constitute of itself an obligation to interfere.”<sup>98</sup>

Such an interpretation could not but gravely weaken the legal validity of the Belgian guarantee of 1839. To the extent that it did so, it weakened also the whole body of European public law, the maintenance of which George Canning, an advocate of nonintervention in an earlier age, had declared to be the first responsibility of Great Britain.

<sup>98</sup> *Hansard*, 3d series, CCX, 1178.

\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## The Origin of Seward's Plan to Purchase the Danish West Indies

HALVDAN KOHT\*

THE purchase of the Danish West Indies, proposed by Secretary Seward in 1867 but rejected by the Senate, is generally represented as a part of Seward's expansionist policies, more particularly as a part of his so-called Caribbean policies. In any case there can be no doubt that these policies on his part were of a purely defensive character, a fact that appears perfectly clear when we trace the origin of his attempt to acquire the Danish West Indies.

The background of the attempt was the Civil War period, when, it has been pointed out, the Navy Department became interested in acquiring the harbor of St. Thomas as a coaling station. The Navy's plan, however, cannot be traced farther back than 1865, and the idea of acquiring both St. Thomas and the other Danish islands in the West Indies was certainly older than that. According to the authoritative work of Charles C. Tansill, *The Purchase of the Danish West Indies* (Baltimore, 1932), the negotiations about the purchase started only in January, 1865. But Mr. Tansill quoted (p. 7) a dispatch from the American minister in Copenhagen, Mr. Bradford R. Wood, dated July 15, 1864, in which is foreshadowed the possibility of the Danish islands being ceded to Austria or rather to the new Austrian emperor of Mexico. Mr. Wood expressed the hope that the Monroe Doctrine might be restored to life to prevent this danger. Mr. Tansill thinks that this information may have suggested to Mr. Seward the idea of acquiring the Danish islands for the United States.

The preserved documents do not give any positive support to this conclusion. Mr. Wood's dispatch, received by the State Department on August 8, 1864, together with several other dispatches, was acknowledged August 27 by a letter signed by the Secretary of State, declaring merely: "The information they communicate relative to the question at issue between Denmark and Germany is very interesting,"<sup>1</sup>—it was the period of the Dano-German war. Not the slightest allusion is made to the West Indian problem.

\*The author was formerly professor of history in the University of Oslo and Norwegian minister of foreign affairs.

<sup>1</sup> Instructions to Ministers, Denmark, XIV, 222-23. The Instructions, Letters, and Dispatches quoted in this article are in the Department of State Archives in the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

As a matter of fact, the attention of Mr. Seward had been drawn to the question of the Danish West Indies at an even earlier date. This can be proved from documents hitherto unpublished, accessible in the archives of the State Department.

I have not seen any indication of immediate knowledge reaching the State Department of an attempt made by Spain early in the 1860's to buy the Danish West Indies. The news of these negotiations was made public in February, 1866, by the report of the Danish accountant-general for the financial period of 1860-1862, and was transmitted to the State Department by the American consul at Elsinore, George P. Hansen.<sup>2</sup> It appears that, in the course of negotiations regarding payment of the Spanish part of indemnities for the abolition of the Sound dues, Spain proposed to buy the islands at a low price and, at any event, wanted to be granted the preference in case Denmark should be willing to sell the islands. Evidently this proposal was motivated by the efforts of Spain to regain the control of Santo Domingo. Both alternatives, however, were refused by Denmark. But other powers might easily have the same idea, a possibility that would be an incitement to action on the part of the United States.

During the Civil War the attitude of the British government was decidedly hostile to the government at Washington, so much so that it was generally presumed that Great Britain looked only for an opportunity to declare war against the United States. In this situation it might be suspected that the British government would think it advantageous to get possession of the Danish West Indies. Denmark was more friendly to the Federal government at Washington than almost any other country in Europe; it assumed the unique position of not recognizing the Confederate States as a belligerent power and granted many favors to the United States Navy at St. Thomas. But Denmark was at the same time involved in a severe conflict with Germany over the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein, a conflict in which Denmark had to rely for a successful outcome on the support of Great Britain and France, both of them more or less hostile to the United States (France over the Mexican question). Thus, the situation put up to the Danish government many possibilities.

Such was the background of the suggestions offered to Secretary Seward in a dispatch, dated October 17, 1863, from the recently (1862) appointed American consul at Altona in Holstein, William Marsh. An Englishman who had emigrated to Illinois only in 1855, Marsh had preserved many con-

<sup>2</sup> Despatch No. 5, dated Elsinore, Feb. 28, 1866, Consular Letters, Elsinore, V.



nections with English politicians, renewed by a visit to England in the summer of 1862 on his way to Altona. In the dispatch mentioned, he wrote:

I have heard it said that Great Britain has an eye upon the Islands of St Thomas, St Cruz and St Joan. Do they see the opportunity ripening of acquiring them, should Denmark be driven to the wall in this struggle? Are we in the way of making treaties offensive & defensive with European Governments? If so, would not such a treaty with Denmark secure inviolate these islands and effectually close their harbors against the piratical craft of the Southern Confederacy? These are suggestions not questions, which may or may not have any importance, but they occur to one when studying subjects of this character.<sup>3</sup>

This dispatch was received in the State Department on November 3, 1863, and acknowledged on November 10 by a letter signed by the assistant secretary of state, Frederick W. Seward, in these significant terms: "Your very interesting despatch, No. 79, of October 17th ult., relating to Holstein affairs, with its valuable enclosures, has been received. Your able suggestions will receive attentive consideration."<sup>4</sup>

Soon after the war between Denmark and Germany had broken out, Consul Marsh realized that the German powers planned to conquer the duchies for themselves and that the other great powers would leave Denmark at German mercy. On February 12, 1864, he wrote in another dispatch: "Denmark stands alone, unaided she must fall. I hope our Government will remember what I said some time ago about the Islands of St Thomas."<sup>5</sup>

This dispatch arrived on March 4, and the next day F. W. Seward acknowledged the receipt of the "very interesting despatch."<sup>6</sup>

When, in the next summer, the Dano-German war approached its inevitable result, the cession of Slesvig and Holstein to Austria and Prussia, which obviously would mean cession to Prussia in the end, the State Department received another dispatch, posing the question of the Danish West Indies from a new angle. It was a dispatch from the consul at Elsinore, the above-mentioned George P. Hansen, a born Dane, who had emigrated to Illinois in 1848 and was appointed consul at Elsinore in May, 1863. His dispatch of July 9, 1864, deserves to be printed in full:

The German newspapers received today bring a rumor that I think of great importance to the States, and I therefore take the liberty to inform you thereof.

The article states: "That Austria is considering the expediency of taking possession of the Danish West India Islands, St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John, as an important station in her transatlantic transactions with South America and more in particular on account of Mexico, with which country Austria will be in the

<sup>3</sup> Consular Letters, Altona, II.

<sup>5</sup> Consular Letters, Altona, III.

<sup>4</sup> Despatches to Consuls, XXXV, 523.

<sup>6</sup> Despatches to Consuls, XXXVII, 102.

closest connection. Besides, it is the only way in which she can expect to get her expenses of the Danish war repaid."

It is true, it is merely a newspaper report, but the German papers have shown that they generally are very correctly informed about such matters. It would be an easy task for Austria to conquer the islands. Denmark has no vessels there for their protection, very few troops and no fortifications.

Their possession would be of great value to Austria and greatly facilitate its intercourse with Mexico. In the event of war between Mexico and the United States they would be of still more importance if in the hands of Austria, and therefore I think it very likely that there is some strong foundation for the rumor.

The West India Islands, in the possession of Denmark, are of not much danger to us, but it seems to me we cannot very well afford to let a powerful European nation get possession of them. If they ever change ownership, the ownership should be in the U. States.<sup>7</sup>

This dispatch arrived in Washington July 29, and its receipt was acknowledged by F. W. Seward the next day.<sup>8</sup>

I think it almost indubitable that the information Hansen had gathered was the motive of the dispatch sent by the minister at Copenhagen, Bradford R. Wood, on July 15 next. Consul Hansen was constantly in touch with the minister and visited him often in Copenhagen; and Mr. Wood found the consul very useful because of his knowledge of Danish. At any rate, Hansen's dispatch proves that the conjecture of Wood was not picked out of the air or out of his own brain. And, Hansen's dispatch is the first that expresses the idea of acquiring the Danish West Indies for the United States. Neither Consul Marsh nor Minister Wood went so far; they warned only against allowing other powers to acquire the islands.

The negotiations that were initiated in Washington were, for several reasons (*i.e.*, the assassination of Lincoln and the attempts on the two Seward's, father and son), taken up earnestly only from the close of the year 1865. In the meantime Consul Hansen did not lose sight of the matter which had roused his vivid interest, and, on July 6, 1865, he sent another dispatch, marked "Private," to the Secretary of State, informing him of new plans for transferring the Danish West Indies to Austria. He wrote:

In one of my despatches of last year I alluded to a plan of Austria to take possession of the Danish West India Islands. At the treaty of Vienna between Denmark and Prussia-Austria no allusion whatever was made to those islands. By that treaty Denmark was forced to cede to the two powers the duchies of Lauenburg, Holstein & Slesvig. Denmark was also forced to include the northern part of the duchy of Slesvig with a population of more than 200,000 bonafide Danes. It was a sore point to Denmark, and strong efforts have since been made by that power to

<sup>7</sup> Consular Letters, Elsinore, V. (I have corrected some of the grammatical errors of the writer.)

<sup>8</sup> Despatches to Consuls, XXXVII, 375.

regain possession of that part of Slesvig, and the plan now is, as I have good reason to believe, *to exchange the West India Islands for the northern part of Slesvig*.

Prussia-Austria, you are aware, are quite at loggerheads how and in what manner to dispose of the conquered Danish provinces. Prussia does not intend to relinquish her possession or control of these duchies, and the principal question with her is how to shake off her joint occupant, Austria.

The plan of exchanging the West India islands for North-Slesvig may therefore enable Prussia to settle with the two clamorous parties, Denmark and Austria, giving North-Slesvig back to Denmark and settle with Austria by turning the West India Islands over to that power and in this manner leaving Prussia sole possessor of the former Danish provinces which she thinks so indispensable for the purpose of creating her Prussian navy.

England and France may be interested in this exchange too, and as rumor has it that Prussia is to be a party to the lately spoken of treaty between those two powers against the U. S., it is not unlikely that they will look favorably upon letting the Danish West Indies pass into the hands of Austria, as that power, who also is deeply interested in the Mexican affair, may in the case of certain events become an active participant in the above spoken of treaty. With Canada, Mexico, and the West India Islands in the possession of these great powers, who are combined by a joint interest: "*the destruction of our republican institutions*," they may be annoying neighbors.

At any rate I have considered this plan of exchanging the West India Islands one in which the United States may have some interest, and I have therefore taken the liberty to communicate my information to you at the earliest moment.

My information as to the exchange was derived from a gentleman in high position, who, I am sure, had no intention by his words to give me the key to the proposed plan of getting back North-Slesvig, which is so desirable for Denmark and which I sincerely hope may occur, provided it is not on the expense of the U. States.<sup>9</sup>

As to the rumors mentioned in this dispatch about a plan to exchange the Danish West Indies for the northern part of Slesvig, it seems certain that no such plan was contemplated at the time Mr. Hansen was writing. The rumors were given a semiofficial *dementi* in the Copenhagen newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, September 8, 1865.<sup>10</sup> During the whole of the year 1865 and the following years the question of restoring northern Slesvig to Denmark was eagerly discussed between the German powers and Denmark and even played a part in general European politics. But in the very comprehensive publications regarding all these negotiations, there is, as far as I am able to see, no trace of the plan indicated by Hansen's dispatch.<sup>11</sup>

The idea, however, had been considered during the final negotiations for the conclusion of peace between Denmark and the German powers in the fall of 1864. In the instructions to the Danish representatives, signed by

<sup>9</sup> Consular Letters, Elsinore, V.

<sup>10</sup> *Les origines diplomatiques de la guerre de 1870-1871*, VII (Paris, 1913), 50.

<sup>11</sup> Aage Friis, ed., *Det nordslesvigske Spørgsmaal 1864-1879* (Copenhagen, 1921), I, and *Europa, Danmark og Nordslesvig 1864-1879* (Copenhagen, 1939), I.

the king on August 18, 1864, they were ordered to use their utmost efforts to rescue for Denmark the Danish-speaking districts of Slesvig, and they were authorized, if no other arguments could prevail, to suggest the Danish West Indies as a compensation.<sup>12</sup> Whether this offer really was made by the negotiators, is perhaps uncertain; in any event, it led to no result. Certain it is that a secret Danish agent, a minor official in government service, Mr. Jules Hansen, came to see Bismarck at Biarritz, in France, on October 12 (or 13), 1864, before the treaty of peace was yet concluded, and presented him with the offer of an exchange of northern Slesvig for the Danish West Indies. Bismarck immediately refused the offer. He mentioned this approach by Hansen in the Prussian house of representatives on June 2, 1865.<sup>13</sup> In this way the matter became public.

The fact that the Danish government in 1864 had authorized such an offer was mentioned publicly for the first time, as far as I am aware, by the Copenhagen newspaper *Dagens Nyheder*, April 29, 1870, when the United States Senate had rejected the treaty of purchase of St. Thomas, and the paper is certainly right in assuming that all later rumors of a similar plan originated from the suggestion of 1864.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of all its imaginary elements, Consul Hansen's dispatch of July 6, 1865, places the question of the Danish West Indies on a plane of world politics which fittingly illuminates the large background of the Caribbean policies of Secretary Seward. Evidently he was the actor in the affair, and he took the official initiative for the purchase of the islands. Writing about this affair he could justly link it with his new national policy.<sup>15</sup> But, short of other information, George P. Hansen must be remembered as the man who first suggested the idea.

It is worth while to add that, according to the testimony of George H. Yeaman, the successor from November, 1865, of Mr. Wood in Copenhagen and the man who finally negotiated the treaty of purchase, October 24, 1867, Consul Hansen "offered several interesting suggestions" during the negotiations. Yeaman characterized him on the whole as "an active and efficient officer."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> These instructions were published in the work of N. Neergaard, *Under Junigrundloven* (Copenhagen, 1916), II, 1469 ff.; quoted in abstract by the same author in the co-operative work *Danmarks Riges Historie* (Copenhagen, 1907), VI, pt. 2, 284.

<sup>13</sup> *Die politischen Reden des Fürsten Bismarck*, II (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1903), 386.

<sup>14</sup> A copy of the paper was immediately sent to the Department of State from the American minister in Copenhagen and is now in its archives. Denmark, X.

<sup>15</sup> Jan. 29, 1868, Instructions, Denmark, XIV, 315.

<sup>16</sup> Despatches of Oct. 26, 1867, and Oct. 22, 1868, Denmark, IX, X.

## A Letter from One of Wilson's Managers

ARTHUR S. LINK\*

In preparing my article on "The Baltimore Convention of 1912" (see pp. 691-713 above), I came across the following letter from Thomas W. Gregory<sup>1</sup> to Edward M. House among the House Papers in the library of Yale University.<sup>2</sup> Probably the most important single personal document on the Baltimore convention, the letter presents an illuminating picture of the convention as the Wilson men saw it.

AUSTIN, TEXAS, July 9, 1912

*Colonel E. M. House  
Brown, Shipley & Company  
123 Pall Mall, London, England*

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . I have not enough stationery in the office to cover my views and observations in regard to the Baltimore Convention, and you have, of course, seen all the papers by this time and know the general lines of the fight and at least all that the general public and newspaper reporters saw. I reached Baltimore Monday morning<sup>3</sup> and reported immediately at McComb's<sup>4</sup> headquarters, where I met the principal leaders of the Wilson forces, and was immediately impressed with the

\* See note p. 691 above.

<sup>1</sup> Born in Crawfordville, Mississippi, on November 6, 1861, Thomas Watt Gregory was graduated in law from the University of Texas in 1885 and immediately opened a law office in Austin. His reputation as a lawyer grew rapidly and he later gained considerable publicity by his successful prosecution, on behalf of the state of Texas, of a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company which was convicted of violating the Texas antitrust laws. He was a loyal Democrat and, despite the fact that he had held only one minor public office, Gregory was prominent among progressives in the Texas Democracy. During 1911 and 1912 he joined the Wilson ranks and worked with other Texas progressives to carry the state for Wilson in the county primaries and conventions. See A. G. Mallison "Thomas Watt Gregory," Allen Johnson, Dumas Malone, and Harris E. Starr, eds., *The Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-44), XXI, 358-60.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is printed by permission of Mr. Charles Seymour, president of Yale University and custodian of the House Papers, and Mr. James T. Babb, acting librarian of the university.

<sup>3</sup> Probably June 24, 1912. The first session of the convention was held on Tuesday, June 25. Since he was not a member of the Democratic national committee, it is unlikely that the date referred to was June 17, 1912.

<sup>4</sup> William Frank McCombs (1875-1921), a young New York lawyer, originally from Arkansas, had in the spring of 1911 voluntarily assumed control of the Wilson presidential campaign. In many respects McCombs' leadership was inept and his effectiveness as a political leader was seriously vitiated by his highly nervous temperament. Gregory frequently refers to him as "McComb." Maurice F. Lyons, *William F. McCombs, the President-Maker* (Cincinnati, 1922), is a fair appraisal of the man. McCombs' own story, *Making Woodrow Wilson President* (New York, 1921), is highly colored and often inaccurate.

belief that McAdoo,<sup>5</sup> of New York, was the most efficient and thorough master of the situation of all others except Burleson<sup>6</sup> (it would take me a long time to express to you my high regard for McAdoo and the work he did, and your view of the man was fully justified and sustained by every thing I saw of him from first to last); as far as McComb is concerned—I think he is entitled to an enormous amount of credit, and I freely conceded it to him, and my opinion of him is very high; when the fight was over, he looked like a skinned snipe, and I doubt if he slept soundly a single hour during the entire convention. He is almost too frail physically to withstand a long contest of this kind, but his political sagacity is very great, and his handling of the general outlines seemed to me to be first class; as an organizer, I think the job was entirely too large for one man, and I immediately discovered that the Wilson forces were not doing the organized work which they should do; I was called into the inner-conference at which Burleson, McAdoo, Lea, of Tennessee,<sup>7</sup> McCombs, and perhaps five or six others were present, and I at once made the suggestion to McCombs that we organize a branch department at the Stafford Hotel in the headquarters of the Texas delegation and that we co-operate with Pennsylvania, whose headquarters were in the same hotel, in going after the individual delegations and individual delegates in every state. It was almost a mile from McCombs' headquarters at the Emerson Hotel to our headquarters at the Stafford, and perhaps two-thirds of the delegations were located in our end of the town; at the conference at the headquarters above referred to, it was made clear that Wilson had less than one-third,<sup>8</sup> and we knew perfectly well that the ninety votes from New York would be thrown to Clark<sup>9</sup> at some stage of the game and that the assault thereby made upon the Wilson forces would have to be met; we knew too that almost every delegation in the convention was honeycombed with Wilson sentiment, but that those instructed for Clark would have to satisfy their consciences and their instructions by voting for him a while until they could excuse themselves for changing on the ground that Clark's nomination was impossible; McComb and others at the conference admitted that the balance of power lay with Underwood,<sup>10</sup> and that it was absolutely essential that some arrangement should

<sup>5</sup> William Gibbs McAdoo (1863–1941) in 1912 was president of the Hudson and Manhattan Railroad Company. He had become prominent in the business world by directing the building of the first tunnels under the Hudson River. In 1911 he joined the Wilson presidential organization and during the subsequent year played an active role in the Democratic prenomination campaign. See his *Crowded Years* (Boston and New York, 1931) for the best account of his activities during this period.

<sup>6</sup> Albert Sidney Burleson (1863–1937) of Austin, Texas. Burleson was a member of the House of Representatives from 1891 to 1913 and had been one of the leaders of the Wilson pre-nomination campaign in Texas. See my "The Wilson Movement in Texas, 1910–1912," *South-western Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII (Oct., 1944), 171, 179.

<sup>7</sup> Luke Lea (1879—) of Nashville, Tennessee. Lea was a leader of the Independent Democrats, the Prohibitionist Democratic faction, in Tennessee, a champion of progressive causes, a follower of Bryan, publisher of the Nashville *Tennessean and American*, and a leader in the Wilson pre-convention campaign in his state. In 1911 he was elected to the United States Senate by the vote of the Fusionists (the Independent Democrats and Republicans) in the Tennessee legislature.

<sup>8</sup> Actually Wilson had 248 out of 1,088 convention votes definitely pledged to him. His strength on the uninstructed delegations brought his vote on the first ballot up to 324 votes. See Urey Woodson, ed., *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention of 1912* (Chicago, 1912), p. 196; hereinafter cited as *Proceedings of the Democratic Convention*.

<sup>9</sup> Champ Clark (1850–1921) of Missouri, speaker of the House of Representatives from 1911 to 1921, was the leading contender for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1912.

<sup>10</sup> Oscar W. Underwood (1862–1929) of Birmingham, Alabama. Underwood had been a member of the House of Representatives since 1895 and in 1911 was elected chairman of the



be made with his forces by which we could supplement the Wilson forces with enough votes to block the convention; the Georgia delegation was instructed for Underwood with the unit rule and twenty-eight votes and almost solidly for Clark second choice; the Mississippi delegation with twenty votes was instructed for Underwood, had a unit rule, and, while John Sharp Williams<sup>11</sup> and three or four delegates were favorable to Wilson, the Vardaman<sup>12</sup> forces controlled a large majority of the delegation, and Vardaman was not friendly to Wilson. I told Mr. McComb that I would look after the Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama delegations and see what I could do to make a working agreement which would prevent any votes going to Clark from those delegations under any circumstances until we could meet the full force of the Clark onslaught and thoroughly block the convention.

Fortune was with me in the matter, as I found the Vice-chairman of the Georgia delegation was Randolph Anderson, a grandson of Thomas Jefferson and a classmate, societymate and Greek-letter club-mate of mine at the University of Virginia; I also found lifelong friends on the Mississippi delegation, who were strong followers of Vardaman (this being the dominating factor in the Mississippi situation); I first secured a poll of the Alabama delegation, and found that nineteen of its twenty-four votes would go to Wilson whenever Underwood was out of the race, with a chance for the other five. I had a long conference with Randolph Anderson, and made a hard and fast agreement with him that under no conceivable circumstances or conditions would a single vote from Georgia go to Clark at any time. As consideration for this agreement, I pledged the Texas delegation not to cast a single vote for Clark at any time, and promised personally that I would use every effort to throw our forty votes to Underwood, in case Wilson should be put out of the race at any stage of the game; in this way, and by a somewhat similar arrangement with a close friend of mine on the Mississippi delegation, I got enough additional votes absolutely tied as against Clark to supplement our 324 votes and give us a good margin over a one-third for all summer if necessary. It would take me a very long time to give you all the details of these conferences, and how they were worked, but I believe I can safely say that I accomplished results in this respect which were of the utmost importance, as events subsequently developed; these delegations lived up to their arrangements in every respect and stood with us in the breach when the Clark vote became dangerous, and against this rock he gradually beat himself to death.

After leaving the general conference above referred to at McComb's headquarters in the Emerson Hotel, I went back to the Stafford, and Tom Love<sup>13</sup> and

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important Ways and Means Committee of the House. He had campaigned in the Southern states for the Democratic presidential nomination and had won the support of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, and part of the delegations from Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. See Burton J. Hendrick, "Oscar W. Underwood, a New Leader from the New South," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXVIII (Feb., 1912), 404-20.

<sup>11</sup> John Sharp Williams (1854-1932), United States senator from Mississippi and a Wilson leader in that state. See George Coleman Osborn, *John Sharp Williams, Planter-Statesman of the Deep South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1943).

<sup>12</sup> James Kimble Vardaman (1861-1930), former governor of Mississippi, was representative of the class of spellbinders of the New South, part demagogue and part constructive statesman (see p. 695, n. 19, above). Vardaman had succeeded in carrying Mississippi for Underwood. The best sketch of Vardaman is in Rupert B. Vance, "Spell-Binders of the New South" (manuscript in possession of Professor Vance, Chapel Hill, North Carolina).

<sup>13</sup> Thomas B. Love was a prominent lawyer of Dallas and one of the Prohibition leaders in Texas. He had represented Dallas in the legislature in 1903 and 1905, and was speaker of the



I immediately got in touch with the Pennsylvania delegation in the same hotel and started the work of first tying together the Wilson forces so that there would not be any break, and getting the individual delegates to work on all the Clark delegations in the convention, and this was systematically kept up to the very end of the fight. We first started out by sending a Texas man and Pennsylvania man out together to handle the different Wilson forces and cement their opposition and staying qualities, and we called upon each Wilson state to give us three or four of its best workers who would co-operate with us in extending this work to all other delegations in the Convention; as fast as states or delegates would come to us in the fight, we would draft them into the service and call them into our caucus at Texas headquarters, where we met after each adjournment of the Convention and where we sometimes worked until three o'clock in the morning. In this way, by putting them actually to work and keeping them busy, we were able to hold them and practically no man that ever came to us afterwards slipped back. As time went by, these caucuses in our headquarters were attended by representatives from as high as fifteen and twenty states, and all plans for individual work were there laid out and all necessary information furnished.

The Wilson headquarters had selected Albert Burleson, Palmer, of Pennsylvania,<sup>14</sup> and a United States Senator from New Jersey<sup>15</sup> as the floor managers, and these three men stood upon the floor all the time at the foot of the platform; McComb sat upon the platform where he could watch the general situation and quickly communicate with these three men, and also kept watch on the parliamentary questions raised and the rulings of the chair.

At the Texas-Pennsylvania caucus attended by delegates from various states, we selected five floor walkers, one for each of the five aisles of the convention hall, and after each ballot each floor walker would go down his aisle and see the Wilson spokesman of each delegation on that aisle and get all the information from him as to any prospective changes in his delegation, and the floor walker would then immediately report this information to one of the three men in question, and would immediately carry back to all the delegations on his aisle any and all information needed and done [*sic*] deemed necessary in the local situation in each delegation; in this way we always knew of any prospective change in any delegation, and knew how to meet these changes and take advantage of them, and I think, when the system had been finally perfected, it was the most perfect organization I have ever seen; you will understand that this particular part of the work was handled from the Texas headquarters at the Stafford Hotel, and every now and then we would make reports to the general headquarters at the Emerson Hotel.

Speaking of individuals, it is my judgment that Burleson was perhaps entitled to more credit than any other one man, except McComb, for the result, and I think those on the inside will concede this fact. As to Mr. Bryan, I will say that he

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House of Representatives in 1907. He became commissioner of insurance and banking for Texas in 1907 and held that position for several years. Love was the chief organizer of the Wilson pre-convention campaign in Texas. See my "The Wilson Movement in Texas, 1910-1912," *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, XLVIII, 171-85.

<sup>14</sup> Alexander Mitchell Palmer (1872-1936), member of Congress from Pennsylvania. Palmer, a leader of the progressive Democrats in Pennsylvania, had been instrumental in securing his state's support for Wilson's candidacy.

<sup>15</sup> Gregory is in error here. He refers to William Hughes of Paterson, New Jersey, a member of the House of Representatives. Hughes was elected in 1913 to the Senate on a Wilson-Democratic ticket.

was the colossal figure of the occasion, and that his shadow fell across the Convention time and again and produced most astounding results. Mr. Bryan did not dictate the nomination of Mr. Wilson, but he certainly drove the last nails in the coffin of Mr. Clark, and put him out of the running; as a matter of fact, I do not know, and no one except Mr. Bryan will ever know, whether he still had his eye upon the nomination or not. I feel quite sure that Kern, of Indiana,<sup>16</sup> was Mr. Bryan's personal preference for the nomination, and I will tell you more of the inside facts bearing on this when I see you; as late as Monday morning,<sup>17</sup> when Wilson had five hundred votes and Clark was seventy-five votes behind him, and Wilson's chances were of the very brightest, Mr. Bryan came out in an interview stating that the Convention was badly tied up and that in case neither Clark nor Wilson could be nominated he would suggest five men who would make splendid presidents and who would be personally satisfactory to him—Kern, of Indiana; James, of Kentucky;<sup>18</sup> Rayner, of Maryland;<sup>19</sup> Culberson, of Texas;<sup>20</sup> and O'Gorman, of New York;<sup>21</sup> when Mr. Bryan changed his vote from Clark to Wilson,<sup>22</sup> he ruined Clark for all time and undoubtedly did a wonderful service for Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Wilson is certainly under great obligations to him, and I sincerely hope that he will make him Secretary of State; at the same time I wish to say again that Mr. Bryan did not dictate the nomination of Wilson and that there were other forces more potent than Mr. Bryan in finally securing this nomination; those forces were public opinion and the wonderful enthusiasm and devotion of the Wilson delegates; there was never a time when we even discussed a second choice with anybody, and we gave the opposition to understand that we would spend the summer in Baltimore before we would permit the nomination of any one except Woodrow Wilson.

Never in my life have I seen the force of public opinion so illustrated as at this convention; when it became evident that Clark was throwing all the strength he could to Parker<sup>23</sup> for temporary chairman in order to secure the ninety votes from New York, and that Wilson was the only man who dared to openly oppose this selection, I was convinced that Mr. Clark had lost more than he had gained, and the result certainly justified this opinion; every day the New York Times, the New York World, and the New York Evening Post, the Baltimore Sun and other great independent papers published the most terrific editorials demanding that

<sup>16</sup> John Worth Kern (1849–1917); see p. 695 above.

<sup>17</sup> July 1, 1912.

<sup>18</sup> Ollie M. James (1871–1919) of Kentucky. In 1912 James was a member of the House of Representatives and also senator-elect from his state. He was a militant Bryan Democrat and during the convention held the important post of permanent chairman.

<sup>19</sup> Isidor Rayner (1850–1912) of Maryland. Formerly a member of the House of Representatives, Rayner was in 1912 in the United States Senate, a progressive Democrat, and a follower of Bryan.

<sup>20</sup> Charles Allen Culberson (1855–1925), former attorney general and governor of Texas. In 1912 Culberson was United States senator, a middle-of-the-road progressive, and a champion of Wilson's candidacy in the Texas preconvention campaign. See J. W. Madden, *Charles Allen Culberson* (Austin, 1929) and my "The Wilson Movement in Texas, 1910–1912," *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, XLVIII, 179–80.

<sup>21</sup> James Aloysius O'Gorman (1860—), formerly a justice of the supreme court of New York, elected United States senator from New York in 1911.

<sup>22</sup> Bryan of course voted for Wilson on the fourteenth ballot. *Proceedings of the Democratic Convention*, pp. 233–37.

<sup>23</sup> Alton B. Parker (1852–1926) of New York, Democratic presidential nominee in 1904. Parker was the candidate of the conservative Democrats for temporary chairman at the Baltimore convention in 1912. Bryan waged a bitter fight against his election and the Commoner even entered the contest himself.

Wilson be selected as the only progressive who had not attempted to make terms with the beast, and as being the only real progressive before the Convention, and charging that the same forces which had dominated the Chicago Convention<sup>24</sup> were at work at Baltimore;<sup>25</sup> in the balloting for temporary chairman, you will observe that practically the solid Wilson vote was thrown to Bryan, and that about 150 of Clark's votes which he was unable to control also went to Bryan, and that the balance of his votes represented his personal followings scattered throughout the Convention. Mr. Wilson at once appeared against the skyline as the real foe of special interests and the only man who would make no terms with the Belmont<sup>26</sup>-Ryan<sup>27</sup> crowd, and as the only man who dared to defy the powers of that organization; this was perfectly apparent before Mr. Bryan made his assault upon Murphy,<sup>28</sup> Belmont and Ryan,<sup>29</sup> and long before Nebraska changed twelve of its votes from Clark to Wilson; tens of thousands of telegrams were pouring in on the delegates from almost every town and hamlet of the United States, largely from those states which had instructed for Clark and from those men who had supported Clark in those states, stating that the senders had supported Clark under the belief that he was a genuine progressive, and that developments showed that he was combining with the powers of greed, and demanding that the delegates should cast their votes for Wilson; many of these telegrams from the far Western states told the delegates not to cross the Mississippi River on their way home unless they voted for Wilson; I, myself, gave to our representative on the Virginia delegation<sup>30</sup> one telegram from Staunton, Virginia, signed by seventy-two men and sent to Mr. Bryan personally, and turned over to me to be used where it would do the most good; another way in which public opinion made itself felt was in the tremendous demonstrations on the floor and in the galleries when changes to Wilson took place; the most wonderful outburst of spontaneous enthusiasm that has perhaps ever occurred in a National Convention took place when the State of Maryland broke its solid vote for Clark by casting one vote and a half for Wilson; the delegates and galleries went wild for twenty minutes, and thousands of Baltimore citizens stood in the galleries and sang "Maryland My Maryland", while five hundred Princeton students gave the locomotive yell, and the whole thing went perfectly crazy; this was the beginning of the break in Maryland, and was headed by Senator Rayner and several others having a fraction of a vote each.

The darkest hour for Wilson was Friday night of the first week<sup>31</sup> when New York changed its ninety votes from Harmon<sup>32</sup> to Clark on the tenth ballot; the

<sup>24</sup> That is, the Republican national convention which had met in Chicago two weeks prior to the meeting of the Baltimore convention.

<sup>25</sup> The support these newspapers gave the Wilson cause was altogether natural since they had for a considerable time been supporting Wilson's candidacy.

<sup>26</sup> August Belmont (1853-1919) of New York, one of the members in the New York delegation.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Fortune Ryan (1851-1928) of Virginia and New York, a member of the Virginia delegation at Baltimore.

<sup>28</sup> Charles Francis Murphy (1858-1924), chief of the Tammany Hall Democratic organization and chairman of the New York delegation at Baltimore.

<sup>29</sup> See pp. 698-701 above.

<sup>30</sup> Probably Richard Evelyn Byrd, leader of the Wilson forces in Virginia. See *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 24, 1912, and *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, May 24, 1912.

<sup>31</sup> Friday was June 28, 1912.

<sup>32</sup> Judson Harmon, governor of Ohio. Harmon, elected governor in 1908 and reelected in 1910, had made a halfhearted campaign for the Democratic nomination in 1912. He definitely represented the conservative, anti-Bryan element of the party. See Burton J. Hendrick, "Judson Harmon: Progressive Candidate," *McClure's Magazine*, XXXVIII (Apr., 1912), 619-24, for a good contemporary appraisal of the man.

Clark people gathered together every additional vote they could rake and scrape and added them to the assault in hopes that they could push Clark over the two-thirds; we knew perfectly well that this assault had to be ultimately met, though we had expected it to come on the third or fourth ballot; there was a terrific uproar, and Clark's vote shot up some 225 votes ahead of Wilson,<sup>33</sup> but the hard work and training of four days and nights told and the line held; then came the counter-stroke, arising from the realization by many delegates that this was proof conclusive of the deal between Tammany Hall, Ryan and Belmont, and the Clark people, and genuine progressives immediately began to drop from the Clark into the Wilson column, and we knew that the danger point had been passed and that Clark could not possibly win; before the first ballot was taken, I figured out 325 votes for Wilson, and he received 324 [on the first ballot], which shows how close my figures were; all during Friday we steadily gained one, two and three votes at a ballot until we had about 356 votes when the crucial tenth ballot was taken; then Bryan changed his vote with eleven others from Nebraska, and they adjourned the Convention over our protest;<sup>34</sup> on Saturday<sup>35</sup> we gained steadily until they adjourned again over our protest, on Saturday night, with Wilson about 500 and Clark about 424; we felt reasonably certain then that the fight was won, and on Monday Wilson's forces increased rapidly, and when the Convention adjourned Monday night,<sup>36</sup> it was almost certain that nothing could stay the advance; in the contest which the Hearst-Carter Harrison forces<sup>37</sup> made against the Sullivan<sup>38</sup> delegation from Illinois, we lined up with Sullivan, knowing that we could never hope for anything from Hearst and that he absolutely dominated the contesting delegation;<sup>39</sup> we knew for several days that Wilson would ultimately get this vote [from the Illinois delegation], and on Monday night we knew absolutely that these 58 votes would come to Wilson on the first ballot Tuesday;<sup>40</sup> early Tuesday morning I wired a friend in Austin that the Illinois vote would come to Wilson on the first ballot that day and that he would be nominated before sundown; you know Roger Sullivan is retiring from politics and from the National Committee, and he and his wife are going to Europe for a two years' trip, and I was reliably informed that his wife made a personal appeal to him and told him that he had been bitterly criticised for many things during his long political career, but that this man Wilson was an honest and clean man and she wanted him to retire from politics after having done a great and good thing and one which would be remembered to his credit as the last act of his political career, and that he must cast the Illinois delegation for Wilson.

As soon as Illinois broke,<sup>41</sup> West Virginia on the same ballot changed its vote from Clark to Wilson; the Virginia delegation cast its full vote for Wilson, he gained over one hundred votes on that first ballot Tuesday morning, and was

<sup>33</sup> Actually Clark received 556 votes on the tenth ballot.

<sup>34</sup> It should be recalled that Bryan did not vote for Wilson until the fourteenth ballot. The greatest threat from the Clark forces came, of course, on the tenth ballot when the Missourian polled well over a majority of the votes. By the time Bryan voted for Wilson it was evident that the Clark landslide had signally failed to materialize.

<sup>35</sup> June 29, 1912.

<sup>36</sup> July 1, 1912.

<sup>37</sup> Gregory refers here to the Chicago Democratic organization dominated by William Randolph Hearst and Carter Harrison, mayor.

<sup>38</sup> Roger C. Sullivan (1861-1920) was regarded in 1912 as the Democratic boss of Illinois.

<sup>39</sup> See p. 698 above.

<sup>40</sup> July 2, 1912.

<sup>41</sup> Illinois went over from Clark to Wilson on the forty-third ballot.

within some seventy-five votes of a nomination when the second roll call began; you know what happened then.<sup>42</sup>

I went down to Sea Girt [New Jersey] Wednesday morning<sup>43</sup> and spent a most pleasant time with Mr. Wilson and told him, what is undoubtedly true, that he had secured this nomination without incurring any political liabilities whatever, that New York and the Underwood people and other hostile forces<sup>44</sup> had not given him a single vote until he was practically nominated, and that I was sure no friend of his in the Convention had directly or indirectly made him a debtor to any man or delegation.

I also told him what is unquestionably true—that while the Clark forces were intensely bitter against Mr. Bryan, they did not feel that way towards Governor Wilson, and that he had behind him the undivided democracy of the Nation; subsequent events have fully verified these statements.

. . . As far as the Texas delegation is concerned, they are given more credit for Mr. Wilson's victory than any one else, and undoubtedly they did splendid work, most of which did not get into the papers and was not known by the public at large and the newspaper men.

. . . I would have given anything in the world to have had you at Baltimore during the Convention, to have talked over the events with you after each session and had the benefit of your advice; it would have been hard to have improved upon the generalship of the Wilson forces, but I am satisfied that you could have done so.<sup>45</sup>

I do sincerely hope that you will get back to this country as soon as possible and lend your advice on the many important questions which will immediately arise. . . .

Sincerely your friend,  
T. W. GREGORY

<sup>42</sup> Gregory gives the impression that Wilson was nominated almost immediately after the forty-third ballot. But see pp. 710-11 above.

<sup>43</sup> July 3, 1912.

<sup>44</sup> It is incongruous for Gregory to include the Underwood delegates among the "hostile forces." By remaining loyal to Underwood during the early phase of the balloting they had helped the Wilson men block Clark's nomination. And when the real crisis came for the Wilson managers—on the forty-sixth ballot—the Underwood managers broke the deadlock and went over almost unanimously to Wilson.

<sup>45</sup> Compare this with the account in Charles Seymour, ed., *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* (New York, 1925-27), I, 66-67.

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General History

NATIONALITY IN HISTORY AND POLITICS: A STUDY OF THE PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY OF NATIONAL SENTIMENT AND CHARACTER. By *Frederick Hertz*. [International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, Editor, Karl Mannheim.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 417. \$6.50.)

IN an epilogue to this book the author excuses himself for not having presented a summary of its contents and the generalizations it might lead to. In fact, having read the book, the reader will feel that he has learned many things, but certainly he will remain rather bewildered as to the views of the author regarding the broader aspects of all those things. It is small comfort to learn that the author intends to publish further studies on the subject of nationality. He has, however, offered more general views in a very able and substantial study on "Wesen und Werden der Nation," published in 1927 in a special volume of the *Jahrbuch für Soziologie*, entitled *Nation und Nationalität*. He has published other works, too, regarding more special aspects of problems of nationality, one of them translated into English under the title *Race and Civilization* (1928). Thus we may know what we could not conclude from the present work: that the author is fully aware of the complex psychology of national consciousness, and that the statement in his epilogue—that this mentality may be "peaceable or pugnacious, progressive or reactionary, tolerant or fanatic"—is more than just a loose affirmation.

One of his chief efforts is to arrive at an exact definition of the meaning and use of terms employed in the discussion of nationality. In this respect he is on the whole successful. He encounters difficulties, however, because of the different sense of the same word in different languages. He himself is not, for instance, aware of the fact that "race" in French is used simply in the sense of nation. He wants to limit the term "nationalism" to the idea of aggressive nationalism, as it is used in the Continental languages. Such a connotation appeals to a non-English-speaking reader. But by so limiting the meaning of "nationalism," he would lack a general English term embracing all movements for realizing the purposes of national consciousness.

In this book the author occupies himself mostly with discussing the features of aggressive nationalism. Sometimes one would think that he virtually identifies this brand of nationalism with every "sense of nationality" (p. 353). He seems to imply that "any nationality having attained a certain level of civilization and political development" will claim to dominate others (p. 201). In fact, he finds nationalism, in his sense of the word, so general as to make it somewhat difficult



to understand why it should have grown so excessive only in Germany. It is no explanation to say that the ideas of Treitschke and Houston Chamberlain were "suited to capture the German mind" (p. 408). It may be highly doubtful, also, to assert that American and other discriminations against Japan were "one of the most potent factors" in bringing about the victory of Japanese nationalism (p. 77).

Sometimes the author's Austrian point of view seems to have colored his judgment, as, for example, in his unfriendly picture of Mazzini, and in his condemnation of the French idea of a world mission as nationalism (p. 376), an idea which, in Fichte and Hegel, he treats as antinationalistic (pp. 342, 351). Otherwise, his summary of the political thought of the German philosophers is judicious and instructive; the whole chapter, a full fourth of the book, on political thought and national ideology, is a highly illuminating and discriminating piece of work.

Most interesting, and partly original, is a chapter on the influence of religion on national sentiment and character, although it is an exaggeration to affirm that the Christian church "was the greatest organizing factor in history" (p. 104). Less satisfactory is the chapter on nationality and language: the statements about the language question in Norway are based on errors of fact, although the author had accessible to him in London a recent account of the question by Professor A. Sommerfelt. The author has not noticed the efforts for democratic reform of the Chinese script under the leadership of Dr. Hu Shih.

On the whole, the author has not gauged the strong forces inherent in democracy for the transformation of nationalistic ideas by weakening the militaristic tendencies and by strengthening the constructive elements. Apart from this limitation, he has done a useful work in describing the character and activities of aggressive nationalism. He is well posted on all kinds of literature regarding the different aspects of his study.

The fact that the preface of the book is dated April, 1943, explains the absence of reference to some important events and books of a more recent date.

*Washington, D. C.*

HALVDAN KOHT

MAKERS OF MODERN STRATEGY: MILITARY THOUGHT FROM MACHIAVELLI TO HITLER. Edited by *Edward Mead Earle*, with the collaboration of *Gordon A. Craig* and *Felix Gilbert*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 553. \$3.75.)

STRATEGY has ceased long ago to be a purely military subject. In the twentieth century it has come to represent a combination of applied social and other sciences. It thus mirrors a social development which has led to total warfare and is simply reflected in the historical change of military ideas.

It is such strategy in a broad sense with which this book is concerned. It offers a survey of changing ideas about warfare since the beginnings of the capitalist



society. It would be unjust to expect, from any such undertaking, completeness in a bibliographical sense, and any criticism of omissions or jumps in the presentation is bound to miss the point. What matters is the fact that no writer who made a really significant contribution to the development of war concepts has been overlooked.

The book consists of five major sections. The first deals with the origins of modern war from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Felix Gilbert's chapter on "Machiavelli: The Renaissance of the Art of War" is a model of elaborating the socio-economic background of military ideas. This section also includes chapters on Vauban and the impact of science on war, and on the development from dynastic to national war as represented by Frederick the Great, Guibert, and Bülow.

The second section is concerned with two outstanding interpreters of Napoleon—Jomini and Clausewitz—rather than with Napoleon himself. The third section covers the period from the early nineteenth century to the first World War. It includes a masterly discussion by the editor of "Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton, Friedrich List: The Economic Foundations of Military Power." A valuable chapter by Sigmund Neumann on the military concepts of Marx and Engels follows. Other chapters in this section discuss Moltke and Schlieffen, Du Picq and Foch, the development of French colonial warfare, and the contribution of Hans Delbrück to military history.

Section four brings us quite close to contemporary issues. In a chapter on Churchill, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau, H. A. DeWeerd describes the emergence of the civilian war leader. Ludendorff and the German concept of total war are discussed by Hans Speier and Soviet concepts of war by Edward Mead Earle. Maginot's and Liddell Hart's doctrine of defense, and Haushofer and the geopoliticians are the subjects of the other chapters. The fifth section is concerned with doctrines of sea and air war, ranging from Mahan to Japanese naval strategy and such theories of air warfare as those of Douhet, Mitchell, and Seversky. An epilogue by the editor on the Nazi concept of war concludes the book.

It is obviously impossible in a brief review to do each of these contributions justice. Every chapter is on a high level of scholarship, but there are inevitable differences in presentation and especially in the amount and depth of social analysis. The chapters on Machiavelli, on Smith, Hamilton, and List, on Churchill, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau, and on Ludendorff are of particular value for the social scientist, while those on Vauban, Jomini, and Moltke and Schlieffen are somewhat more technical in character. One or two chapters make wide use of secondary sources, but even there the presentation remains invariably on a high level. Why the final section on Hitler's war concepts is separated from the chapters on Ludendorff and Haushofer by an extensive section on sea and air war is not quite clear.

Edward Mead Earle and his associates deserve much credit for the excellent

piece of work which this volume represents. It offers a wealth of facts and ideas in a very readable form. It emphasizes the insoluble link of military questions to-day with economic, political, social, and technological developments. Last but not least, it is permeated with a spirit of militant democracy which is the deadly enemy of aggressive militarism. In the editor's own words (p. x), "We do not have and do not wish to have a military class to whom these matters will be delegated with plenary powers. Our armed forces, including our officer corps, are recruited on a democratic basis. This is as it should be, since there is only one safe repository of the national security of a democratic state: the whole people."

*Sarah Lawrence College*

ALBERT LAUTERBACH

WHEN THE FRENCH WERE HERE: A NARRATIVE OF THE SOJOURN OF THE FRENCH FORCES IN AMERICA, AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN DRAWN FROM UNPUBLISHED REPORTS AND LETTERS OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF FRANCE AND THE MS. DIVISION OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. By *Stephen Bonsal*. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1945. Pp. xix, 263. \$3.00.)

THE subtitle of this book and the blurb on its jacket lead one to expect a new interpretation of military affairs in the United States during the War of American Independence. Such an interpretation is sadly needed—to keep pace with S. F. Bemis' re-examination of the diplomatic history (*Diplomacy of the American Revolution* [New York, 1935]). Bemis, borrowing from and improving upon the classic study of Henri Doniol (*Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique* [5 vols.; Paris, 1886–90]) showed that the question of American independence was only a single aspect—and perhaps not the most important—of the world's diplomatic problems during that period. There was room for hope that Bonsal, adopting as a model Bemis' corrective of the usual ethnocentric account, would borrow from and improve upon not only Doniol but also E. M. Stone (*Our French Allies* [Providence, 1884]) and D. B. Keim (*Rochambeau* [Washington, 1907]), thus showing that military activities in the United States were only a single, and a relatively minor, phase of the world war of that period.

The hope is quickly dispelled. In a brief introduction Bonsal admits quite frankly that his purpose in writing was Franco-American propaganda. To be sure, the prologue which follows sounds a scholarly note. It was intended, the author tells us, "not only to present our War for Independence in its proper relation to the world war of the eighteenth century, but to indicate what a vital factor it has become in the protracted and universal struggle against the forces of darkness and savagery which the United Nations are now happily bringing to a victorious issue" (p. xiii). Unfortunately, however, neither the prologue nor the text carries

out this promise. Although the book mentions military activities in Europe, the West Indies, Africa, and India, their place in the global warfare of which the Yorktown campaign was only a part is never given the importance they deserve. Although there are a few generalities about the intellectual influence of the American Revolution upon the Frenchmen who participated, no effort is made to trace it systematically.

There is some internal evidence that this volume (except for the prologue and some footnotes) was prepared several years before its publication. Apparently Mr. Bonsal has not kept up with the more recent literature on the subject. R. G. Adams, for example, in an article entitled "A View of Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown" in this *Review* (XXXVII [Oct., 1931], 25-49) has shown that Cornwallis' "retreat" can be understood only as an effort to obey Clinton's orders to take up a post from which his men could easily be transported to other areas. The present reviewer's *Lafayette and the Close of the American Revolution* (Chicago, 1942) confirms that thesis and also describes at considerable length the Franco-American negotiations which, beginning in 1779, led ultimately to Washington's decision to abandon the New York campaign and concentrate upon Virginia. John C. Fitzpatrick and his collaborators in the bicentennial edition of the *Writings of George Washington* (37 vols.; Washington, 1931-40) have published several scores of documents (many of them new) relating to these and similar matters. A passing acquaintance with such recent works would have cleared up some of Bonsal's perplexities. But he has apparently consulted no monograph later than the Vicomte de Noailles' *Marins et soldats français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance* (Paris, 1903) nor any collection of documents more up-to-date than Worthington C. Ford's *Writings of George Washington* (14 vols.; New York, 1889-93). On the other hand, Mr. Bonsal deserves much credit for using some rare contemporary journals and some pertinent manuscripts in the French archives and the Library of Congress. Since, however, a larger proportion of those than he realizes had already been exploited, there is little in his story that is significantly new. What little there is is hardly enough to counterbalance what is presented either incorrectly or awry.

One part of the book will prove quite useful, though somewhat irrelevant to its major theme. It is the account (pp. 186-212) of the later careers of several officers in Rochambeau's expeditionary force. Yet even these pages give little not available in other works; and if Mr. Bonsal had consulted either A. Kuscinski (*Dictionnaire des conventionnels* [Paris, 1916-19]) or Ludovic de Contenson (*Société des Cincinnati de France et la guerre d'Amérique* [Paris, 1934]) he could have saved the nearly four pages he gives to what he calls "the prize puzzle" (p. 195) of M. de Barras. For these works (among others) would have made clear that André de Barras-la-Vilette, who commanded the *Bonetta* at Newport and Yorktown, was not the infamous Vicomte Paul de Barras of the French Revolution.

University of Chicago

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

THE LETTERS OF LAFAYETTE TO WASHINGTON, 1777-1799. Edited by *Louis Gottschalk*. (New York: Privately printed by Helen Fahnestock Hubbard. 1944. Pp. xxvii, 417.)

THIS book might be subtitled "A Study in Hero Worship." Lafayette, coming to America to serve under Washington, was quite swept off his feet by the American commander in chief; it was adulation at first sight. Possessing an apparently inexhaustible fund of hero worship, he lavished upon Washington an enthusiastic admiration that at first startled and dismayed that austere Virginian. In Lafayette's eyes, Washington was beyond reproach, the noblest of men, a paragon of virtue—everything, in short, that Parson Weems tried to make him for the benefit of the American public.

As for Washington, under the warmth of Lafayette's honest affection, his frostiness melted away and the great man unbent as he rarely did to other men. Washington was reserved but by no means inaccessible; yet, to open a friendship, it was necessary to go considerably more than half way—which Lafayette did gladly. Slowly, the relationship between the two men expanded into a friendship with filial-paternal overtones. Lafayette described himself as a friend, disciple, and adopted son; and Washington, although he never completely let down his reserve, no doubt found in the affection of the young French nobleman some compensation for a childless marriage.

The friendship of Washington and Lafayette survived all the shocks that friendships are heir to: the efforts of Washington's enemies to alienate Lafayette's regard for the commander in chief; Lafayette's persistent efforts to procure commissions for the French soldiers of fortune who had come to win glory and fat pay checks in America (Washington would gladly have sacked the entire lot with the exception of Lafayette); and the strain imposed upon Franco-American relations by the war of the French Revolution. Ambitious of leading an expedition to Canada, Lafayette nevertheless was willing to forego this opportunity to gain military glory rather than bring humiliation upon his friend. Yet Lafayette was not a mere sycophant; as his letters show, he freely advised Washington upon military matters, always being careful to preserve the deference of the pupil toward the master.

Throughout his career, Lafayette studiously imitated Washington; he seems always to have been asking himself, "What would General Washington do if he were here?" Yet there is no certainty of being a great man simply by imitating other great men, and, unfortunately for Lafayette, Washington's example afforded no sure guide amid the rush of events in France after 1789. Revolution in France was a very different thing from revolution in America, and, after 1791, Lafayette was clearly out of his depth. Aspiring to be the Washington of the French Revolution, he found himself obliged to deal with a people which, he said, had "swallowed up liberty all at once, and is still liable to mistake licentiousness for freedom." He hated violence and upheld the cause of constitutional, orderly change; disliking despotism and aristocracy, he could not love democracy. But it was difficult

even for an American radical to thread his way safely through the French Revolution—Tom Paine narrowly missed the guillotine. Little wonder therefore that Lafayette found safety only in exile.

This volume brings within convenient compass all the letters written by Lafayette to Washington. Although many of them have appeared in print before, they have been mutilated by Jared Spark's editorial excisions. This defect Professor Gottschalk has remedied by editorial work of a highly meticulous character. At the same time, Mr. Gottschalk has provided an excellent introduction that summarizes the results of his many years of study of Lafayette. And, to top it all, the book itself, in these days of meager, shriveled, wartime volumes, is a collector's item of fine paper and clear typography.

*Bryn Mawr College*

JOHN C. MILLER

CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY. By *Eric Williams*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 285. \$3.00.)

BOTH the title of this work and the opening sentence of its preface suggest to the reader what he will find. This is "an attempt to place in historical perspective the relationship between early capitalism as exemplified by Great Britain, and the Negro slave trade, Negro slavery and the general colonial trade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." It is, as the author says, in no sense a study of the institution of slavery but rather a study of the contribution of slavery to the development of the Industrial Revolution and of the forces of industrialism which presently destroyed slavery. The argument can be set forth briefly. The raising of sugar is a capitalistic industry. It demands the plantation system and a large labor supply which can be obtained only by the slave trade. In the economic structure which is created there is no place for the small farmer. To the mercantilist merchant at home the slave trade was the ideal trade. It found vent for English goods; it built up English shipping; it enriched the colonies; it poured wealth into the laps of sugar planters. All this is familiar ground but it is well told by Professor Williams, who draws the story from an enormous mass of contemporary material.

Having established the relation between sugar and the slave trade and between the slave trade and the commerce of the day, he follows with an account of the destruction of the mercantilist system and shows how the slave system, now an outworn economic institution, was destroyed by the very forces it had helped create. Here the lines are far less clearly defined; motives are mixed; economic influences are less simple; and one must tread cautiously. Monopoly everywhere was breaking down before the onslaught of the industrial system. Put briefly, "When British capitalism depended on the West Indies, they [the capitalists] ignored slavery or defended it. When British capitalism found the West Indian monopoly a nuisance, they destroyed West Indian slavery as the first step in the destruction of the West Indian monopoly" (p. 161).

One feels at times that Mr. Williams in his zeal to establish the primacy of the economic forces is somewhat less than fair to the humanitarians whose voices were raised against the slave trade and later against slavery. A man is not of necessity a hypocrite because his economic interests and his moral convictions coincide. Humanitarianism may be "lucrative" and still be humanitarianism. Nor is it necessary to conclude that the zealots who struggled to abolish the slave trade at the end of the eighteenth century were insincere because they countenanced the institution of slavery, or because they accepted the slave-raised cotton of the Southern United States. On one point Mr. Williams seems to have changed his mind. He at one time wrote, "The white man proved unable to endure strenuous labor in the tropical climate" (*Journal of Negro History*, XXV, 61). Here he dismisses this contention as false and misleading.

By no means the least useful part of the study is the careful annotation and the rich bibliography.

Wellesley College

ELIZABETH DONNAN

ARMISTICE, 1918. By *Harry R. Rudin*, Associate Professor of History and Fellow of Pierson College in Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. vii, 442. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a brilliant, scholarly, and detailed account of the events leading up to the signing of the armistice between the allied and associated powers and Germany in November, 1918, and the end of the first World War. Professor Rudin has presented an exhaustive study of the principal documentary materials, memoirs, newspapers, and serial publications in this first historical narrative of the armistice negotiations in English and has made important contributions to our knowledge of this controversial problem. The first chapters of the monograph have to do with Ludendorff's sudden desire for an armistice to avert military disaster, and his demands for a parliamentary government in Berlin which would request President Wilson to bring about an immediate armistice and to initiate peace negotiations upon the basis of the Fourteen Points and subsequent pronouncements. The author then shows how the President disregarded the Allies while they sought to circumvent his peace program, how the torpedoing of the *Leinster* threatened to end the negotiations, and how when Ludendorff changed his mind and decided to continue the war he was relieved of his command. The final chapters are concerned with the Fourteen Points, the drafting of the armistice terms by the Supreme War Council, the revolt of Berlin, the abdication of the kaiser and the signing of the armistice.

Professor Rudin has shown that Ludendorff's and Hindenburg's decision of September 28 to overthrow the imperial chancellor, to establish a new parliamentary government, and to force it to hoist the white flag was based upon "a sense of catastrophe" in the west and the knowledge of the Bulgarian collapse in the

Balkans. This decision was approved the next day by the kaiser and the foreign secretary, whereupon Count Hertling resigned and the empire fell a prey to the factions.

The supreme command of the army, now in complete panic, was indifferent about the effect of a request for an armistice on the war-weary German nation and specifically about the rapid disintegration of the home front which resulted from Ludendorff's *démarche*. As early as October 14 the Pan-Germans proclaimed that the army was being defeated by the collapse of the home front and the shameful conduct of the government of Prince Max of Baden. To add to the growing confusion the political and military leaders did not know that Ludendorff himself had forced the prince's government to hoist the white flag.

Beyond the wall of iron and fire on the western front, Wilson's allies disagreed with him about the basis and conduct of negotiations with the treacherous Germans, yet neither France nor Britain wished to continue the conflict until unconditional surrender. Pershing alone advised against a negotiated peace which would jeopardize the moral position of the victors and "possibly lose the chance actually to secure world peace on terms that would insure its permanence." It is news to the reviewer, however, that the Fourteen Points of Wilson's peace program was "the major issue in the Congressional elections of November 5, 1918."

The author's first basic conclusion is that the German high command's stab-in-the-back explanation of the empire's collapse is "one of the boldest and most successful attempts in history to tamper with fact and to shift responsibility." Although he throws some light on Ludendorff's responsibility for the legend, he does not clarify all the principal phases. It is also difficult to accept the conclusion concerning the shock produced by Prince Max's speech of October 5. There is considerable evidence that millions of thinking Germans fully understood the gravity of the military situation on the western front in the late summer of 1918. Again the reviewer is of the opinion that the supreme command actually planned "the democratic government in Berlin" as a front behind which the supreme war lord and his two lieutenants could escape from the worst results of military defeat. In fact the supreme command never even cut the private wire when Ebert became head of the revolutionary government.

"Had the Germans been confronted by a demand for unconditional surrender in 1918," concludes Professor Rudin, "the war would not have ended in that year." True perhaps, but in all probability it would have ended in total defeat in the summer of 1919. The facts are that both William II and Ludendorff fled the Reich in 1918, but the stab-in-the-back legend spread over all Germany. Corporal Hitler's propaganda convinced millions of his countrymen of the reality of the Hagen thrust of the homeland and of the allied use of "the fourteen freckles" to trick the Germans. This book then is the tragic story of a war that did not end in the unconditional surrender of Germany.

Stanford University

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ



CLAIMS TO TERRITORY IN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND RELATIONS. By *Norman Hill*, Professor in International Law and Relations, University of Nebraska. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. vi, 248. \$3.00.)

*Claims to Territory in International Law and Relations* is an interesting little book on a very timely subject. It is nontechnical and easy to read, though carefully annotated. The book may be widely read by diplomats for their own edification (but not that of their staffs) and by students (but not necessarily, I hope, by their teachers).

Professor Hill paints the picture with very broad strokes. He outlines the various historical claims to territory that states have made, and gives examples and cases to illustrate each claim and possible combination of claims. There he stops. He does not go into specific examples with any degree of thoroughness. He does not, for instance, undertake to prove that Alsace-Lorraine either should or should not belong to France. You get the impression that that is not his purpose. Nor, on the other hand, does the author make much of a case for or against the plebiscite as a means of solving nonlegal disputes. You get the idea that that is not his purpose either. What then is the motive underlying the book? I confess to having no quick answer. The only thing I can think of is that the author believed it would be useful to compress within one volume a series of examples of the types of claims pressed by states in quest of territory, and of the means and procedures whereby states have occasionally adjudicated those claims. That is all.

One point of weakness, if it can be called that, is the rather extended treatment Professor Hill gives to the subject of strategic claims in his book without referring to any more recent source than George Fielding Eliot (1941 vintage). Much strategic water has passed under the bridge since 1941. And it has been water not unaffected by the influence of territory on military strategy. Professor Hill makes a passing allusion to it on page 60, when he refers to islands and land-based aircraft, to Crete, to the Solomons, and to many other strategic island groups in the Pacific. He again touches upon it, though apparently unawares, in his statements on pages 63 and 68: in the former instance, when he refers to France's concern for her industry (in Bismarck's time) if Germany possessed Strasbourg and Metz; and in the latter case, when he notes Hitler's idea that mere size enhances the security of a state.

If the territorial proximity of France's industry to German foot soldiers in Bismarck's time was a strategic consideration, how vastly the advent of modern air power must have enlarged this concept. To what extent will air power, from this point of view, affect territorial considerations at the forthcoming peace conference? Similarly, to what extent has "mere size" enhanced the security of a state from the point of view of air power? Britain found out to her sorrow what the lack of "mere size" meant in 1940; Russia, to her joy, found out what "mere size" meant in 1941; and Germany found out what the lack of "mere size" meant when her

territorial boundaries became more and more restricted and Allied air power moved closer and closer in for the final kill. By omitting any serious consideration of these important new territorial factors, while at the same time devoting considerable wordage and space to territory and strategy, Professor Hill makes no progress toward enlightening whatever audience he hopes to reach in one of the most vital new territorial subjects of our time.

*Washington, D. C.*

JAMES T. LOWE

## Ancient and Medieval History

A HISTORY OF THE ROMAN WORLD FROM 30 B.C. TO A.D. 138. By *Edward T. Salmon*, Sometime Senior Scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Professor of Ancient History in McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. [Macmillan's History of the Greek and Roman World, General Editor: M. Cary, Volume VI.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. xiii, 363. \$5.50.)

THE seven-volume Macmillan (Methuen) series covering the history of the Greek and Roman world is now nearly complete; only the first volume of the Greek history series remains to be published. Dr. Salmon's treatment of the period 30 B.C. to 138 A.D. is the fourth and last of the volumes on Rome to appear in print. The work of Scullard (753-146 B.C.), Marsh (146-30 B.C.), and Parker (138-337 A.D.) has previously received notice in this journal (XLII [Oct., 1936], 96; XLVI [Oct., 1940], 102).

The defect of the present volume is not that Dr. Salmon was commissioned to replace the late R. P. Longden as author but rather that the work has been done in haste and at a time when it is not easy to think or write about anything so remote as Roman history. One does not question Dr. Salmon's competence as he discusses the period from Augustus to Hadrian, but there is no doubt that if he (or his publishers) had been content to delay publication until after the war, a much better and more useful book might have been forthcoming.

Dr. Salmon quite rightly admits that his book can make no claim to originality; it is sound—and completely uninspired. He apologizes for having produced a work in which the personalities of the emperors may seem to have been given undue attention, but if he had taken the trouble to endow his emperors with personality, he might have been cheerfully forgiven by his readers. Furthermore, there is included in the book very little that one might not find in an ordinary textbook. If Dr. Salmon's reputation as a scholar were not already well established, he might be suspected of having consulted only the meager bibliography which his book contains.

Looking at the Macmillan Roman series as a whole, one finds that the same

criticisms can be made in greater or lesser degree. In no case can the sound scholarship of the authors be doubted, but in every instance there is a deadly preoccupation with political, institutional, and military history, whereas the social, economic, literary, and artistic phases of Roman history are given little attention. Only the late Dr. Marsh wrote as if he had some real interest in his subject, and only Mr. Parker had the initiative to introduce material which was not previously familiar to everyone in the field.

It is difficult to imagine for what audience this series is intended. It is not for the beginning student, nor for the specialist, and probably not for the general public. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that the series will not encourage many of its readers to explore further the field of Roman history.

Washington, D. C.

TOM B. JONES

ANDREA BARBARIGO: MERCHANT OF VENICE, 1418-1449. By *Frederic C. Lane*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXII, Number 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1944. Pp. 224, xiv. \$2.25.)

A MASTERFUL article contributed by Professor Gino Luzzatto of Venice to the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* in 1937—"Les activités économiques du patriciat vénitien"—has epitomized the notion of the Venetian merchant-patrician as shaped by recent research. A lacuna sorely felt, however, has been the absence of any exposition of the activities of individual Venetian merchants or firms, such as we have for nearly every other Italian city. Publication of the first "business biography" for Renaissance Venice, illuminating the triumphs and disappointments of an individual trader, is therefore a matter of considerable interest. Its value is enhanced because Professor Lane has seized the opportunity to take stock of the unfortunately scarce material of fifteenth and early sixteenth century account books and business letters accessible in the Venetian archives. In an appendix, he provides us with a sort of archival guide for further work. Since he has photostated substantial portions of the surviving books, we may hope that a considerable part of the work will be done in this country. ("Family Partnerships and Joint Ventures in the Venetian Republic," in the *Journal of Economic History*, IV [Nov., 1944], is a first publication by Mr. Lane profiting from this material for the early sixteenth century.)

For several reasons the figure of Andrea Barbarigo recommends itself for closer study. He represents the only case encountered by Mr. Lane where the surviving account books and business letters sometimes refer to the same transactions, making possible a glimpse of the merchant's intimate motives. Further, in consequence of personal misfortune—Andrea's father had ruined the fortunes and the political position of his family by failing in his duties as a commander of a Venetian fleet—Andrea was forced to look out eagerly for any opportunity for commercial gain to rebuild his fortune. Consequently, his papers refer to an unusual variety of

business ventures. Finally, the preserved books of the Barbarigo family include some kept by Andrea's son and grandson. This furnishes a rare chance to follow up the subsequent withdrawal of the family from trade to landed property and to profitable participation in public offices.

The economic problems discussed on the basis of this material center on two points. The first is the scope of individual initiative in the frame of an economic system characterized by the state's constructing, letting out on hire, and conveying most of the merchant ships. The narrative points out that regulation of shipping merely *conditioned*, but did not *replace*, individual enterprise. The second chief topic is business organization. We are given an analysis not only of Andrea's small independent enterprise but also of the structure of the great Venetian firms, usually built on family partnerships. Emphasis is placed on the obscuration of the medieval *Commenda* through the use of commission agents abroad and also on the versatility and readiness of Venetian business "to shift funds rapidly from one branch of trade to another." The volume opens with an attractive biographic outline and ends with a number of appendixes, including an extensive treatise on the growth of "Accounting Methods"; notable among the conclusions is that "double entry was well known and commonly used at Venice at the beginning of the fifteenth century."

May we regard Andrea Barbarigo's business career and conduct as "typical" of those of a Venetian patrician of modest means? They are indubitably typical in so far as they disclose the nature and technique of the business of Venice's early *quattrocento* merchants. But are we to assume that a considerable number of "poor" Venetian noblemen did make their way in life in the fashion of Andrea Barbarigo? Mr. Lane introduces Andrea's biography with a discussion of "Old Wealth and New" and of the rise of new elements in the Italian city-states. Yet there is little of the self-made "new rich" in this descendant of a substantial and influential family, one who could count on the friendship of relatives of political standing and considerable wealth (finally bequeathed to his children) at every step of his career. A real "poor *nobile*" could not have hoped for a comparably rapid rise. On the other hand, the average poor *nobile* would hardly have been ready to take upon himself Andrea's complete absorption in business pursuits and his aloofness from political life—presumably a consequence of Andrea's peculiar position after the disloyalty of his father. Normally, the chances open to the poorer members of the Venetian nobility lay not so much in opportunities for equal competition with capitalists of greater wealth as in the easy access provided by the Republic to many (moderately salaried) public offices, the medium for active participation even of impecunious *nobili* in the administration of the state. Part of the career of every "typical" Venetian merchant-*nobile*, whether wealthy or poor, was the performance of such political and military functions (as Luzzatto has it in his summary) as "*aujourd'hui nous sembleraient absolument inconciliables avec une activité commercial quelconque.*" When seen in this perspective of the

time, the merchant figure reconstructed in Mr. Lane's illuminating monograph can be accepted as "typical" of its age only with reservation.

*Institute for Advanced Study*

HANS BARON

## Modern European History

WILLIAM THE SILENT: WILLIAM OF NASSAU, PRINCE OF ORANGE, 1533-1584. By C. V. Wedgwood. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. 256. \$3.00.)

SOME characters do not lend themselves to those drastic reappraisals which add the spice of surprise to popular biography. They even escape, in large measure, that periodically revised estimate of their worth and work which, it is sometimes supposed, is entailed on historiography by the process of history itself. When in 1855 J. L. Motley concluded his *Rise of the Dutch Republic* with a panegyric on its hero, he was only repeating in terms fit for the nineteenth century the gist of what William of Nassau's earliest biographers, English and Dutch, had written of him, as they in turn were mainly repeating the judgments of William's friends and of the fairer-minded among his contemporary enemies. By 1895 Ruth Putnam had the advantage of more documents in published form than had been available to Motley, even in the archives, and of the editorial labors of Gachard (incomplete when Motley wrote) and Poulet and Kervyn de Lettenhove and others. She had also the inestimable advantage of knowing that Motley's mid-century enthusiasm for liberty and heroism was sadly outmoded, and that what was wanted was to smudge Motley's strong blacks and whites into the soiled familiar gray of ordinary human nature. But in spite of her studious avoidance of eloquence Ruth Putnam's portrait of the prince of Orange is recognizably Motley's; her final estimate is as high, if not as glowing as his.

In the last fifty years less has been added to our knowledge of the sixteenth century Dutch wars than was added between Motley's book and Ruth Putnam's, but so much more to our critical and psychoanalytic tool kit that 1855 and 1895 seem equally antiquated, while our own recent experience of history has been so immediate that we are tempted to judge that the quiet nineteenth century never experienced that painful process at all. C. V. Wedgwood is admirably equipped to focus all our twentieth century superiorities for a popular re-examination of William the Silent. She writes well and without condescension, which should be the primary requisite for any popular biographer. She is aware of all the latest critical and analytical techniques, the neo-Marxian, the neo-Freudian, the neo-Paretan, though it must not be supposed that she allows them to clutter up her judgments. She is sensitive to the currents of contemporary thought. And she commands a scholarship adequate to insure that the latest discoveries will be

utilized when they deserve it and the central narrative set firmly in its larger background. Nevertheless, it is the first duty of a reviewer to report that nothing in her *William the Silent* obliges any serious revision of our prior notions of the man and his times. Perhaps if C. V. Wedgwood were less a scholar in the best sense of the word, had less respect not only for objective fact but for what is less often recognized, objective truth in proportion and balance of detail, she would have achieved a more startling originality. As it is, though her emphasis is of today and her estimate is shaded by considerations of which the nineteenth century was careless or unaware, her prince of Orange is the same hero of whom Motley wrote, "As long as he lived he was the guiding star of a whole brave nation, and when he died the little children cried in the streets."

To say that the character of William the Silent defies drastic reappraisal, and commands, for much the same reasons, the same tribute of admiration from Miss Wedgwood as from Motley or from Meteren, is not to say that we do not need this book or should not welcome it. We should welcome it if only because it comes from one of the small company of serious historians who can still write literate English. And we need it because, even though the facts were all accessible to us before, and the main judgments are unchanged, we need someone to state the prince of Orange in our terms for our day. We are perhaps better prepared than our grandfathers to recognize that a politician—even a trimmer, provided he never trims essentials—may be a great statesman. We are, perhaps, better prepared than any of our race since the turbulent religious wars to appreciate the heroism required for steadfast moderation, for simple tolerance and simple human kindness in a world gone mad with hate and cruelty. We know, without derogation to our individual wills or to the impersonal forces of history, that there are heroes without whom life would have been different, heroes for whom a whole nation may genuinely mourn. And we need to be reminded that, in spite of an untimely and irreparable loss, a people with courage and resolution enough can go on to achieve for themselves some part of the destiny toward which their dead hero has pointed.

*New York City*

GARRETT MATTINGLY

THE NOTEBOOK OF JOHN PENRY, 1593. Edited for the Royal Historical Society from the original in the Huntington Library by *Albert Peel*. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXVII.] (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society. 1944. Pp. xxviii, 99.)

FOR students of late Elizabethan and early Stuart history one of the most interesting collections of manuscripts in America is the so-called Ellsmere Manuscripts at the Huntington Library in California. This collection contains a large part of the surviving papers of Sir Thomas Egerton, successively master of the rolls, solicitor general, attorney general, and lord keeper of the great seal under Queen Elizabeth, and lord chancellor under King James. It was as attorney general that

Sir Thomas became involved in the trial of John Penry, Puritan martyr, in 1593. That accounts for the fact that many documents relating to Penry's later days turn up among Egerton's papers. Copies of many of these are to be found elsewhere, and a considerable number of them have been published by Champlin Burrage.

What Burrage never found was Penry's own notebook. It is a small quarto volume, written in three different hands, probably all of them by Penry himself. Parts of it are easy reading, parts of it extraordinarily difficult. When I came across it many years ago in a hasty survey of the Ellsmere Manuscripts, I recognized its significance, but had neither the time nor the patience to transcribe it. Fortunately it has fallen into the hands of Dr. Albert Peel, already well known to students of Elizabethan Puritanism as editor of *The Seconde Parte of a Register* (Cambridge, 1915). No man alive is more competent to undertake the difficult business of transcription and interpretation. He has to all appearances done a splendid job. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the transcription because I have not the original before me, but I can vouch for the painstaking and accurate scholarship of the editor.

On the whole the yield of the notebook is disappointing. Dr. Peel, in his introduction, has directed a large part of his attention to the thorny question of the authorship of the Martin Marprelate tracts. In the draft of a letter to Burghley, written in the closing days of Penry's life and preserved in the notebook (pp. 61 ff.), Penry himself dealt with the matter at some length and undertook to demonstrate that he was not Martin. But Dr. Peel does not seem to be completely convinced that Penry was not equivocating. In any case, Penry's statement, though persuasive, can not be accepted as decisive, and the matter rests not very far from where it was.

In his preoccupation with the Marprelate controversy, Dr. Peel has passed lightly over some other significant items in the notebook which deserve attention. Students of Elizabethan parliamentary history will be much interested in the procedure attending the presentation of the Brownist petition to Parliament in March, 1593. It appears from a letter of Penry to Burghley (pp. 53-54) that the petition was presented to the lord keeper (presiding officer of the House of Lords) and to Mr. Speaker (of the Commons) by two women, one of them apparently Penry's wife, who were committed to prison and at least one of them, under fear of torture, compelled to confess all she knew about it. "How unworthily," Penry remarked, "suffer you the privileges of that high court to be thus encroached upon and trodden under foot" (p. 55). Unless I am mistaken, this is a unique case of its sort in the whole history of Elizabeth's parliaments.

Another document in the notebook is the draft of a letter from Penry to the earl of Essex. The fact that Penry addressed himself to Essex is itself significant, for Essex is generally considered the successor of the earl of Leicester as champion of Puritanism in Elizabeth's council. Indeed, there is some reason to believe that the increased persecution of the Puritans during the last decade of the queen's



reign is to be explained in part by the fact that the two great champions of Puritanism at court died at or near the end of the previous decade, Leicester in 1588, Sir Francis Walsingham in 1590. Essex, if anyone, took their place, and it is significant to note that though he was not yet firmly in his seat at the time of Penry's martyrdom, Penry nevertheless reached out for his support. The letter itself deserves more careful analysis than Dr. Peel has given to it, if only because it throws light upon Penry's estimate of Essex. Space does not serve to pursue the matter far, but it is noteworthy that a large part of Penry's argument is in terms of a wholesale confiscation of church property. "Is not," he asks, "a Devereux as meet to effect the action by her authority as a Cromwell was under her father's?" The appeal is in part to Essex's vanity, in part to his cupidity. "Ye shall not," Penry writes, "have the like favor in court always. Use your opportunity then." He was careful not to single out Essex as the most promising supporter of Puritanism, though something of the sort might be read into the following sentence: "Bear with me, good my lord, if I be overseen in taking you for the meetest man of all the nobility and council of England for the work" (p. 91).

But scholars will not quarrel with Dr. Peel if he has left a few kernels for their gleanings. They will rather be profoundly grateful to him for placing at their disposition a notebook, the editing of which has been done with painstaking care in the face of extraordinary difficulties and the contents of which make an important contribution to our knowledge of Elizabethan Puritanism.

Washington, D. C.

CONYERS READ

ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEEN-EIGHTIES: TOWARD A SOCIAL BASIS FOR FREEDOM. By *Helen Merrell Lynd*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. viii, 598. \$4.50.)

*England in the Eighteen-Eighties* is not history in the old formal sense of the actual story of an age, nor does it utilize new historical material in order to correct or expand our knowledge. It is rather the transfer of some of the methods of social investigation and analysis, used by the author on the scale of a small, contemporary community in *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition*, to a whole country and to a period which has passed out of ordinary memory. The book is important, therefore, in proportion to the success of these methods in reaching significant historical conclusions rather than for any particular contributions to the history of late Victorian England.

The methods used by Mrs. Lynd develop through three stages. First is the conception of the problem, which concerns the shift in emphasis in social thought from a liberalism interested in preventing bad government to a new theory of the state as a positive force in the creation of human good. This shift is considered to have taken place in England between 1880 and 1890. The second and principal stage is the sifting of newspapers, magazines, biographies, diaries, and letters, the

classification of the results, and the presentation of this material in orderly form. Since the method of verifying changes in ideas by collecting expressions of individual opinion is basically the method of sampling, and since a large sample is clearly necessary for accuracy in such a study, a great variety of published material has been consulted. The selected material is presented in two parts, the first dealing directly with changes in ideas and the second with the role of social institutions—that is, political parties, organized labor, churches, schools, and special organizations such as the Fabian Society—in bringing about these changes. This stage calls for arduous labor for the researcher and also, it must be confessed, for the reader of the published result. The final stage is the conclusion formulated in terms of the problem—establishment of the shift from laissez-faire liberalism to the concept of the welfare state—and on the basis of the material presented in the body of the work.

Mrs. Lynd adheres carefully to this design, though without confining her sources strictly to the years from 1880 to 1890. Where it seems appropriate, material from the preceding and the following decades is employed to good effect, for her concern is with ideas rather than with exact dates. The range of her reading is vast, and the large and varied mass of her material is used with extraordinary care for accuracy in details. If consistency in method, the number and extent of the samples of opinion, and exactitude in handling her material could produce results better than those of the usual methods of historical research, Mrs. Lynd would certainly have achieved them.

The question is, then, whether the methods of *England in the Eighteen-Eighties* are more valid than those of the orthodox historian, who hopes, at least, that his judgments will grow out of the source material without benefit of a theory of social values. What is better must necessarily be a matter of opinion, but the two methods certainly produce different results for this period. To the orthodox historian the year 1880 is marked by the formation of a Liberal government generally agreed on a new extension of the suffrage but divided on other questions of internal policy. An active and growing minority of the party believed in increased use of state power for social welfare. Shortly after the passage of new franchise and redistribution bills, the Liberals split over Irish home rule. The Conservatives returned to office in 1886, and, except for a short interval, remained in power until 1905 with a policy of avoiding basic internal changes. In short, the election returns indicate a Conservative reaction in the eighties. Mrs. Lynd comes to the opposite conclusion: that realization of a discrepancy between social facts and old laissez-faire social theory came relatively swiftly in the eighties, and that the old negative attitude towards the functions of the state yielded in this decade to belief in the potentialities of political power for social improvement.

This is a serious difference. Is the usual historical method too concerned with the obvious facts of political history to reveal significant shifts in ideas? Or does Mrs. Lynd's firm belief in a social basis for freedom direct the selection and evalua-

tion of her sources to the point that the conclusions are really a restatement of her initial conceptions? This reviewer gives an affirmative answer to both questions. Mrs. Lynd has described, and illustrated in great detail, a significant shift in the currents of English opinion, but has assumed its success in the eighties because it became clearly apparent in these years. She antedates the real *turn* of opinion towards social reform. On the other hand, the historian who places the turn as late as the decade before the war of 1914 may well be postdating it by failing to recognize a time lag between the general acceptance of new ideas and the passage of legislation clearly based upon them. But these views are themselves matters of opinion. What is certain is that *England in the Eighteen-Eighties* is a significant work which must be given the careful attention of every student of late Victorian England.

Mills College

FRANCIS H. HERRICK

ALLENBY IN EGYPT, Volume II of ALLENBY: A STUDY IN GREATNESS. By *Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell* of Cyrenaica and Winchester. (New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. xiii, 161. \$2.50.)

FIELD MARSHAL Viscount Wavell has in many ways followed in the footsteps of his late chief and lasting model whose biography he has written in *Allenby: A Study in Greatness*. Like Allenby himself he has risen to the field marshal's baton, and to peership through military achievements in the defense of the British Empire along the Suez Canal. The reward was well merited, for the Suez Canal represents the strategic hub of the Old World, like the Panama Canal of the New World. Allenby defended the life line of the Pax Britannica on the eastern shore of the Suez Canal and became viscount of Megiddo; Wavell defended it on the western shore and became viscount of Cyrenaica. But there the similarity does not end. Allenby, after his military task was completed, was called to Egypt, Britain's most critical imperial position; Wavell has been called to India. The new viceroy of India concludes his biography of Allenby by presenting him as the founder of Egyptian independence. Allenby became high commissioner for Egypt when the Egyptian nationalists, inspired by England's liberal tradition and by the democratic slogans of World War I, clamored and rioted for Egyptian independence. Allenby had enough force at his disposal to restore order and to maintain British rule, but he knew that England's avowed policy was to train the Egyptians to govern themselves. Against much opposition in Britain and in Egypt which accused him of "selling out" the empire, Allenby prevailed upon the British government to proclaim Egypt's independence in 1922. Britain set thereby an example which she herself followed in Iraq and which the United States is now following in the Philippines.

Viscount Wavell's book, written with great simplicity and straightforwardness, forms not only an important study in recent Egyptian history and in British im-

perial policy. It is also a revealing self portrait of the present viceroy of India. He believes that "the stout support Egyptians have given Britain in this war, especially at times when British victory must have seemed doubtful to them," can be attributed partly to the impression that Allenby left "of British resolution and fair dealing." Without a friendly understanding with the Egyptian people, the British position in Egypt at the most critical hour of World War II would have been untenable. The turning point of the present war which defeated Axis plans for world domination and made the victory of the United Nations possible was the firmly held British strategic position in Egypt. This position, like ours in Panama, must be built, as Allenby understood, on sincere friendship, common sense, and firmness alike. In both cases a Monroe Doctrine applies, based upon co-operation, but the forms of co-operation have undergone many changes in the last fifty years. As Wavell rightly points out, the only alternative to conciliation and common sense compromise would be military rule to which Britain (and the United States) often took recourse in the past but which, "quite apart from questions of morality and justice," would be unthinkable after World War I in view of the temper of the British (and American) nations "and the inconstancy of their rules." Allenby carried his program in Egypt through against much opposition and misrepresentation. It is not the British way to deal with a problem logically or directly, but it is in the best tradition of British proconsulship to deal with it courageously and fairly.

Viscount Wavell has added to personal observation the conscientious studying of the period from the sources. His narrative is enlivened by a number of penetrating and always objective character sketches of British and Egyptian leading personalities. He is not uncritical of Allenby nor is he ever ungenerous to his opponents. He has brought to his task rare qualifications of intimate knowledge and power of judgment; his story reveals the often overlooked human side of British imperial administration as it has developed in the twentieth century.

*Smith College*

HANS KOHN

THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES, 1720-1865: THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES. By *B. J. Hovde*. Two volumes. (Boston: Chapman and Grimes. 1944. Pp. 428; 429-824. \$10.00.)

This first comparative history of the Scandinavian countries is a work of impressive scholarship. It makes available to English-speaking students of modern European history a vast amount of hitherto inaccessible information, the results of a generation of Scandinavian research, and presents them with all the skill and acumen at the command of a distinguished American scholar. The point of view is almost severely economic, and no one need fear that he is being snared by a Scandinavian bias. There is rather a sobering tendency to emphasize the sharp edge of class conflict and economic self-seeking.

Professor Hovde has chosen to study that period of Scandinavian history in which these countries "passed from a pre-capitalistic to a capitalistic stage of civilization." Each chapter is organized around some phase of life in which this transition was illustrated, such as "Industry and Trade," "Agriculture; the Decline of the Old System," "Literature," "Public Health," etc. A central theme throughout the book is the growth of an individualism which the author regards as essentially a product of capitalistic enterprise. American students will find an abundance of material on the history in Scandinavia of that spirit of "free enterprise" which is thought by many to be the bulwark of American liberty. The division of material is a lengthwise one so that each chapter includes the development in all three countries over all or most of the period under discussion. This organization permits some very helpful bird's-eye views of the chosen topics and interesting comparative observations on the relative status of the various countries. But it throws obstacles in the way of any reader who may want a sharply focused picture of the development in each country, or indeed, merely a clear, unencumbered historical narrative. Some repetition is inescapable, and major personalities fail to emerge clearly because they are split under various headings.

An essential doctrine of the writer is revealed in a casual remark to the effect that Scandinavia in this period was "one of the frontiers of capitalistic civilization" (p. 588). As this doctrine implies, the work is not merely comparative within Scandinavia but interlocks at every point with the story of similar developments throughout western Europe and America. Professor Hovde finds that by 1865 Scandinavia was in all respects well abreast of contemporary movements; the middle classes had taken the whip hand and were transforming urban and rural life alike to their pattern. He reveals a broad, historical perspective which enables him to do justice to the enterprising religiosity of Hans Nielsen Hauge as well as the rationalistic iconoclasm of Frederik Dreier. The only class to which he shows a certain coolness, through occasional barbs of dry wit, is that capitalistic bourgeoisie which constitutes the main theme of his discussion.

It would be interesting to test the validity of some of the identifications he makes when he asserts the characteristics of these "middle classes"; they are thrifty and greedy (p. 55), industrious and meticulous (p. 209), moral, orthodox, unmovable (p. 213), practical, sensible (p. 105), cunning (p. 694), and individualistic (p. 100). Yet economy and individualism are also said to be principles of rural society (p. 559); and at least once he departs from his usual explanation of individualism as a by-product of capitalistic society by explaining it as due to the harshness of Scandinavian living conditions (p. 369). This difficulty becomes especially pronounced in the chapter on literature, where rationalism is alternately called "aristocratic" (p. 55) and "bourgeois" (pp. 93, 148). Romanticism is also declared to be "middle class" (p. 139), yet several of its leading exponents are revealed to be severe critics of bourgeois society and nonconformers who attacked "materialistic utilitarianism," surely the acme of middle-class philosophy. Pietism is called a "bourgeois religion" (p. 95), yet its chief stronghold from 1800 on was

among the rural population. These comments will merely suggest that an economic formula is not always a wholly satisfying explanation of cultural movements.

The plan of the book has led to the exclusion of some topics that ordinarily loom large in histories. One of them is foreign policy; no one could find out from this book why Bernadotte was chosen crown prince of Sweden; the fact itself, so crucial for Swedish politics, is only mentioned in a subordinate clause. The treatment of the Norwegian language question is not wholly adequate, and the folk music and the folk literature get nowhere near so valuable a treatment as the folk art. Though the chapters on literature are solid and thought provoking, they suffer from a certain tendency to accept schoolbook definitions of such terms as "romanticism" and "realism." The chapter on immigration would be stronger if the author had been able to consult important recent works by Blegen, Skaug, and Semmingsen. The references in this and other chapters suggest that the last serious work on the manuscript was done around 1934. It has been a long time appearing, since the preface was written before 1939, the copyright made in 1943, and the work not actually published before 1944.

It is a pity that so important a work should have had so long a travail. Publishing difficulties alone can account for its barrenness of format: the book bitterly lacks charts, maps, and pictures to illustrate and implement the statements made (the end-paper map is shockingly inaccurate, even unhistorical); the make-up and the price are equally forbidding. The index is poor, with widespread omission of important references.

For the author's benefit we list some minor slips, not including misprints: Camilla Collett's husband was named Peter Jonas Collett (p. 687); Oehlen-schlager's *Guldhornene* refers to a period long before the Viking Age (p. 436), while Ibsen's *Fru Inger* refers to one much later (p. 480); Goldschmidt's first name was Meir (p. 477); Aasgaardsreien is no longer regarded by folklorists as having anything to do with the old pagan divinities (p. 768). The reviewer also questions the statement that the Danes are especially inclined to "cold, intellectual criticism" (p. 374) and the description of Trygve Gulbrandsen's unhistorical, superromantic *Beyond Sing the Woods* as an "excellent novel" (p. 403).

Professor Hovde deserves our gratitude and plaudits for his work, which belongs in every historical library. He has set before us a vast historical panorama which is as imposing for its sweep as for its many delightful and surprising details.

University of Wisconsin

EINAR HAUGEN

BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSSON: A STUDY IN NORWEGIAN NATIONALISM. By *Harold Larson*. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1944. Pp. x, 172. \$2.00.)

SOME five years ago, when the Gestapo snapped a tight muzzle on the free intellectual life of a free Norway, it was amazing to see how the people were able to couch their ideas in cleverly chosen lines from the national poets. In that

darkest hour, it stood the country in good stead to have fostered poets and artists, and to have elevated them to the high ground of prophets and national statesmen.

It is indeed a pity that of the great nineteenth century Norwegians only Henrik Ibsen and Edvard Grieg have been given adequate full-length portraits in American biography. Henrik Wergeland, Bjørnstjerne Björnson, Arne Garborg, and the principal eighteenth century figure, Ludvig Holberg, are as yet only sketched in the minds of our educated people. All the more a pity it is, since these men were forerunners of that better world community which Norway, as an ally of the United States, is now helping to establish.

In his book on Björnson, Dr. Harold Larson has taken us several steps forward on the road toward a yet somewhat distant goal. As a brief study of one phase of Björnson's life, it leaves little to be desired. Mr. Larson writes fluently. He has used the rich sources of the Oslo University library as well as the National Archives of Norway. He has handled the material with excellent critical judgment and painstaking accuracy. More than that, he has proved himself capable of understanding the positive force in true nationalism. He has been able to see the great distinction between national egotism and national creativeness, the latter being just as significant as personal creativeness.

It is a little regrettable, I think, that in the early chapters of the work there is not sufficient stress on the elements that unite the Scandinavian countries. There is really one language in modern Scandinavia, a fact which has been demonstrated and underscored by Professor Didrik Arup Seip. The so-called language controversy is a question of how much of north and west Scandinavian is to go into the official written language of Norway. If Scotland should separate from England, and if a great medieval literature had been written in one of the principal dialects of Scotland, the question of how far this northern English ought to determine the written language of a free Scotch kingdom might arise, and it would be somewhat parallel to the question under discussion in Norway. Likewise the view of the Calmar union is a little distorted, for there was never any "solemn ratification" of such a union. It consisted to begin with in a personal relationship through the monarch Erik, and some additional Scandinavian plans in the mind of Queen Margrete, plans to which a tacit consent was given by a small and slightly representative assembly.

One must not ask of the book more than it promises. It is a study in nationalism. There is no attempt made at literary evaluation, and no strong effort to show the psychological evolution of Björnson's personality. Within its limits the study is very well done and will be used and appreciated by all students and teachers in the field of Norwegian life and letters.

*St. Olaf College*

THEODORE JORGENSEN

BALKAN FEDERATION: A HISTORY OF THE MOVEMENT TOWARD  
BALKAN UNITY IN MODERN TIMES. By *L. S. Stavrianos*. [Smith Col-



lege Studies in History, William Dodge Gray, Hans Kohn, Ray Allen Billington, Editors, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1-4.] (Northampton: Department of History of Smith College. 1944. Pp. x, 338.)

In this study of *Balkan Federation* the author frankly states at the outset that, until the current crisis, there never was a Balkan movement that could be considered truly federative, and succinctly gives as the reason for this failure that, since the beginning of their liberation from Turk oppression, that is, from the end of the eighteenth century to the outbreak of World War II, the Balkan peoples have been held in an iron grip by two violently antifederal forces, nationalism and imperialism. Since, however, throughout that time voices have never ceased to be raised and gestures made to register the desirability of more effective co-operation, the author was moved to trace the shadowy forerunners of the present active movement toward unity, the realization of which is an indispensable item of the peaceful, postwar world projected by the United Nations. Under the circumstances he must be reckoned to have largely concerned himself with thrashing straw. Indeed, he himself admits as much when he confesses in his concluding chapter that no proposal examined by him in the preceding pages, regardless of the quarter in which it originated, was ever other than the camouflaged plan of a great European or small Balkan power to advance its selfish interest. Like so much earnest scholarship of our age the study could therefore be dispensed with. But though relatively unimportant, it proves its author to be a well-trained scholar who has diligently assembled all the available raw material and then, showing a much rarer virtue, has reduced it to an intelligible form. His mental and moral balance is particularly notable. Of this the master test is supplied when he broaches (p. 131) the Macedonian problem, far and away the most contentious of all the issues that have played havoc in this area. A fairer presentation, first, of the actual racial situation, and second, of the claims staked out in the bedevilled province by the Balkan rivals, cannot be conceived. Such outstanding lack of bias makes it easy to put unquestioning faith in his championship of a Balkan solution federative in form and just to all its members. And when, in spite of his passionate hopes for this happy termination, he does not fail to warn of the many obstacles still to be overcome, we are pleased to note that his idealism is tempered with sound practical judgment.

That the possibilities of Balkan federation are a matter of present concern is demonstrated in a volume that has appeared since Professor Stavrianos published his work. In *Crossroads of Two Continents* (Columbia University Press) Feliks Gross presents the views of many living statesmen and prints the full text of thirteen documents dated since 1918 giving the programs for federation of various groups in the area.

Michigan City, Indiana

FERDINAND SCHEVILL

CAITIFF BULGARIA. By M. P. Pipinelis, formerly Greek Minister to Bulgaria. (London: Hutchinson. 1944. Pp. 61. 6 shillings.)

THIS history of Bulgarian diplomacy from 1912 to 1944 is based on the documents published by Temperley, the Russians, Germans, and others, and on the author's personal experiences as minister to Bulgaria from January, 1940, to April, 1941, when Greece broke off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria. To furnish an "objective account" of one Balkan state is hard for the representative of another, especially in wartime—the author wrote before the Bulgarian armistice of October, 1944, and the consequent withdrawal of Bulgarian troops from Thrace. Even other Europeans have their pet Balkan state. Americans have written some of the best books on Balkan history because their country has no axe to grind there.

The author considers that the "coincidence of two fundamental factors, strategy and nationalism, suffices to explain Bulgarian policy." Geography provides the strategic factor—Bulgaria lies across the way to the East and seeks an outlet on the Aegean at Kavalla, the seat of the great American tobacco company, which closed its doors during the Bulgarian occupation, now ended. Greece's offer of a "Bulgarian zone" at Dedeagatch, on the analogy of the "Serbian zone" in the port of Salonika, was rejected; Bulgaria, like the Poles at Danzig, wanted a corridor and Kavalla. History has been the source of the second factor, nationalism. The big Bulgaria of the treaty of San Stefano is still the "dream" of the nationalists. The medieval Bulgarian empire has given the names of two of its tsars to the Bulgarian kings, Boris and Simeon, whose numbers are derived from their medieval namesakes.

The second Balkan war in 1913 arose out of Macedonia, that apple of discord between Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars. The book traces the growth of the Macedonian organization "during the years 1926–31," when the Macedonian, Liaptcheff, was premier, and subsequently to his resignation, when a Macedonian congress was held at Gorna Djomaja. Bulgaria's policy was thus not to collaborate in the Balkan Union, of which Papanastasiou was the apostle. This favored the Axis policy of *divide et impera*. When, in 1940, war approached the Balkans, "Bulgarian policy began to take a more active part in the war effort of the Axis." German "tourists" and "specialists" arrived in Bulgaria, and Bulgarian troops were concentrated on the Turkish rather than the northern frontier. The last chapter asks how far the people were responsible for the policy of the government. A nation largely composed of peasants is not usually interested in foreign politics. There is "a disproportionately large class, the intellectual proletariat, which seeks a nationalist platform." But the author thinks that a better life in the Balkans will come about, and all must contribute to this attainment. Greece has been the first to demonstrate by her relationship with Turkey "that such a change is possible." She has abandoned the "Great-Idea" since the exchange of Turco-Greek populations in 1922, and the reviewer saw a Turkish minister lay a wreath on the cenotaph of the unknown warrior at Athens. The author's title certainly con-

tributes nothing to the building of good will in the Balkans. But it is not enough for the cocks in the Balkan cockpit to agree; the Great Powers, their leaders, must not pit them against each other, as in the past.

*Durban, South Africa*

WILLIAM MILLER

A SHORT HISTORY OF RUSSIA. By *B. H. Sumner*, Fellow of Balliol College, Sometime Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 1943. Pp. 469. \$3.75.)

THIS volume demonstrates wide reading, detailed knowledge, awareness of many problems, and steady accuracy in dates. It traces "the seven basic influences which have shaped the greatest land empire": the frontier, the state, the land, the church, the Slavs, the sea, and the west.

If the reader is accustomed to a grand chronological development from the earliest beginnings to within the last few years, he is likely to experience shock and amazement when he examines the chronology (pp. 435-45), which begins in June, 1941, with the German invasion of the Soviet Union and runs in reverse order to 860 A.D., the first Varangian expedition against Constantinople. The reader is introduced into something like historical surrealism by this treatment. Almost every one of the seven main topics begins with the Soviet period and, in a series of four or five sections, each beginning earlier in time than the preceding, is brought forward to a different point in the evolution. Further confusion is brought into the situation because the author is forced by his manner of presentation to include some twenty to forty cross references in each chapter.

Important as the seven subjects are in the history of Russia, it becomes evident that the author has to break up his treatment of important events or situations (for example, the Crimean War) into two and sometimes three parts, thus not giving them their true historical value but considering only their importance for the topic under discussion. This treatment does not, for example, give the account of foreign policy that might be expected of a volume with so much wealth of detail. Parts of this important subject are to be found in four or five chapters. Chapter I ("The Frontier") and chapter VI ("The Sea"), to mention only two of the pertinent chapters, might find a central theme in a discussion of how the rivers and portages affected the course of events. The mere mention of rivers and portages in general terms, gives slight indication of their significance.

The brief bibliography (pp. 447-53) of works chiefly in English unfortunately does not follow the seven topics discussed. It is good for general purposes but does not include some of the basic monographs in English or other languages on which a work as detailed as this should have been based. Most of the footnotes in the text are to literary works.

This volume was not easy to write and represents a considerable effort for which the author should be commended. Careful selections of pages scattered

through it might be used for references in class work, but the book itself would hardly do for a text. In contrast to the author's unique and unconventional method of presentation of material, his historical analysis within the topics mentioned above is conventional to say the least and includes less that is new than might be expected.

*University of California*

ROBERT J. KERNER

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIAN ECONOMICS. By *J. F. Normano*. Issued in co-operation with the Russian Economic Institute. (New York: John Day Company. 1944. Pp. xiv, 170. \$2.00.)

SOVIET Russia remains a riddle unless it is considered as a link in a long historical development. The great merit of Dr. Normano's scholarly book is the emphasis upon the historical continuity of Russian economic thought. A brilliant writer, a distinguished economist, and an author of highly regarded monographs on special problems of Russian economic history, published before the first World War, Dr. Normano is particularly qualified for the difficult task of disentangling the highly involved development of Russian economic thought. The title of the book is somewhat ambiguous. The author deals not so much with economic theories as with economic ideas in their broad sociological implications. He takes up in his new book a line of thought he put forward in his pre-World War publications, particularly in his remarkable book on Saint-Simon's social-economic philosophy and its influence upon the character of the first industrial banks in Russia (Petrograd, 1918). The approach is to some extent Marx's method in the reverse, relating the formation of economic institutions to specific social-economic ideas.

The Russian economists have always been very responsive to whatever creative ideas they could find in the English, French, and German literature, but this has resulted in an active recreation of definite Russian coloring and not in a passive absorption of foreign ideas. Dr. Normano reviews first in some detail the English, the French, and the German influence since the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Since the middle of the nineteenth century the German influence has overshadowed both the others. He gives then—on this broad historical background—a brief but vivid survey of "native currents" and of recent trends in Russian economic thought.

Quite apart from the messianic ideology of the Slavophiles stimulated by Herder's *Ideen*, the question as to whether Russia would follow in her economic development the path of western Europe, or whether a socialist economy might be developed from collectivistic elements of her peasant economy, avoiding the stage of the morally condemned capitalism, occupied the best Russian economists from the seventies until the very establishment of the Soviet economy. Theoretically the problem still remains controversial. Lenin and his followers coming into

power simply imposed a new social order, regardless of whether this was in accordance with the Marxian doctrine or not. Dr. Normano believes that from the standpoint of Russian history, "Bolshevism should be viewed as a legitimate successor rather than a successful rebel" (p. 148). He is fully convinced that the fundamental aims of the Soviet Union have their roots deep in Russian history (p. 121). He considers Bolshevism partly as a reaction against Germany's dominant influence in Russian thought and life, and partly as a synthesis of all previous currents in Russia's ideological movements. He summarizes his analysis as follows: "History of [Russian] economic ideas is not a chain of separate links but an unceasing stream. The stream absorbed foreign influences as well as native currents; conservative and revolutionary ideas. All of them went into the channel of continuous Russian history, whose waters have shaped and filled the Soviet construction of that Marxian theoretical canal system which for decades fascinated the Russian intelligentsia" (p. 148). Normano's generalizations are rather a challenge to future historians than final judgments.

Although in sympathy with the Soviet economy Dr. Normano is far from being blind to its defects, but, taking a historical point of view, he avoids misjudgments so typical in current literature. As he emphasizes, the totalitarian character of Soviet Russia has its roots in the fundamental fact that Russia had not experienced the individualistic spirit of the Renaissance, of the Reformation, of the French Revolution, and the English liberalism (p. 135). Instead, government coercion was traditional in Russian history (p. 142). What on the surface may appear as "the road to serfdom" goes back at least to the time of Peter the Great, who created the Russian bureaucratic machine, and in this sense Dr. Normano is absolutely right in saying that there is no old and new Russia but that "it is always Russia" (p. 146).

Normano's analysis is penetrating and illuminating. His ideas are often provocative in essence and paradoxically formulated, but they never fail to shed new light on old problems. No serious student of Soviet Russia can afford to ignore his brilliant study.

*Washington, D. C.*

EUGEN ALTSCHUL

## Far Eastern History

EMINENT CHINESE OF THE CH'ING PERIOD (1644-1912). Edited by *Arthur W. Hummel*. Two volumes. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1943. Pp. xi, 604; 605-1103. Vol. I, \$2.25; Vol. II, \$2.00.)

HERE is vivid evidence of progress of sinology in the United States. For nearly two decades the American Council of Learned Societies has been encouraging Chinese scholarship in this country. Several years ago, largely through its committee on the promotion of Chinese studies, it formulated the project which has

issued in these two impressive volumes. In the enterprise it was assisted generously by the Rockefeller Foundation. The purpose was in part the utilization of the large resources of the Library of Congress, in part the training of young American scholars in sinology, but chiefly the preparation of a tool which would be useful to American and other scholars in their study of China. The director of the undertaking and the editor of the completed volumes is the veteran sinologist, one of the few Americans of his generation who are really competent in the field, Dr. Arthur W. Hummel. The impressive list of contributors eventually included not only younger Americans but also a few senior scholars and several Chinese.

The two volumes are confessedly not an exhaustive *Who's Who* of the Ch'ing period. Something over eight hundred biographies are included. These embrace, so far as the present reviewer has checked them, all the names with which foreigners are most familiar. Obviously some which specialists might have wished to see mentioned have had to be omitted. In the preparation of the sketches, materials in Chinese, in some other Far Eastern languages, and in Western tongues have been employed. The impressive "index of books" gives some indication of the range of works from which toll has been taken. The overwhelming majority of these are, as is proper, in Chinese. The index does not tell the entire story, for as a rule the Occidental works cited in the several bibliographies are not listed in it. In the final form in which the sketches have been printed the needs both of the specialist and the nonspecialist have been consulted. In the text (but not in the indexes) the appropriate Chinese characters for the numerous proper names have been included. Bibliographies, some of them long, are appended to the articles. Extensive cross references expedite the use of the volumes. Thus, for the sake of those unfamiliar with correct Chinese usage, K'ang-hsi is to be found in its alphabetical place and carries with it a reference to Hsüan-yeh, under which the biographical sketch is, properly, placed.

More attention is paid to China's relations with the Occident than might have been the case had the work been intended for Chinese rather than Western readers. It is doubtful, for example, whether Hsüan-yeh (the K'ang-hsi emperor), in looking back over his own life, would have given as much proportionate space to his relations with Christian missionaries as does the present work. It is interesting, moreover, that more pages are devoted to Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, the chief figure in the Taiping Rebellion, than to Hsüan-yeh or Hung-li (the Ch'ien-lung emperor), although these had the two longest and ablest reigns of the dynasty. The reader often fails to obtain any clear impression of the characteristics of the subjects of the biographies, even though the main dates, facts, and achievements are recorded. The men, as men, seldom stand forth.

These comments, however, are not in any sense meant to detract from the achievement as a whole. Here is a notable contribution to our knowledge of China, particularly important because it has to do with the period during which the Occident, including the United States, assumed major significance in China's

affairs. Dr. Hu Shih is not exaggerating when in the preface he declares that "it is the most detailed and best history of China of the last three hundred years that one can find anywhere today."

*Yale University*

K. S. LATOURETTE

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA. By *Charles Robequain*. Translation by *Isabel A. Ward*. Supplement, RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDO-CHINA: 1939-1943. By *John R. Andrus* and *Katrine R. C. Greene*. Issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. vii, 400. \$4.00.)

Most French authors writing on French colonies have a blind spot whenever economic subjects are considered. They dress chapters in imposing statistics or surround vital utilitarian problems with artistic pictures of native industry and native beauties. It is pleasant contrast to review this realistic work on French Indo-China by Professor Charles Robequain of the Sorbonne, an authority on French colonial economics.

*The Economic Development of French Indo-China* is divided into two parts with a supplement on events since 1939. Part I includes the people, communications, economic theories, and capital utilization. Part II reviews French colonization, changes in native agriculture, industry, and foreign trade.

It is in the chapters on French colonization and native agriculture (v and vi) that M. Robequain brings into the open some of the topics most observers deliberately have avoided.

In chapter v the author discusses the possibility and desirability of Western agricultural colonization in tropical regions. Medical experts do not agree with economists and administrative officials. Some doctors maintain that improvements in hygiene and tropical medicine will permit the settlement of European families in climates like Indo-China. This school of opinion believes that the higher altitudes are suitable for white colonists, a possibility which would be the only guarantee for a continuation of French influence beyond the continent of Europe. Other medical authorities insist that Westerners living in the tropics lose physical and moral vigor and eventually find themselves in an inferior role. They cite as proof the deterioration of the Creole. M. Robequain renders a great service to policy-forming agencies who have neither the patience nor the time to extract these observations from the sessions of the Congrès International de Géographie.

In chapter vi the author strikes out against those interests preventing the natives from securing an equitable distribution of credit. The peasants of Indo-China exist from day to day, torn between crude methods of cultivation on one side and the exorbitant charges of middlemen on the other. The local traders, Chinese and native, are too often usurers who advance money for taxes as well as



religious celebrations, taking in return most of the crop. The merchant-usurer thus separates the produce from all trade currents. M. Robequain seeks to eliminate this iniquitous policy through the extension of mutual agricultural credit organizations.

The conclusion of this study must be kept in mind by all powers holding colonies—"in the long run, colonization must have aims other than the mere balancing of accounts to truly justify it." It is not only a repentant France who must take to heart this advice.

*West Virginia University*

THOMAS E. ENNIS

## American History

REVOLT OF THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO AND OTER-MÍN'S ATTEMPTED RECONQUEST, 1680-1682. Introduction and Annotations by *Charles Wilson Hackett*, Professor of Latin-American History in the University of Texas. Translations of Original Documents by *Charmion Clair Shelby*. [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, edited by George P. Hammond, University of New Mexico, Volumes VIII and IX.] Two volumes. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1942. Pp. ccx, 262; xii, 430. \$10.00.)

WHEN New England was recovering from King Philip's War and Virginia from Bacon's Rebellion, when Penn was negotiating with his sovereign for a grant of land on the Delaware and La Salle was leading his expedition to the Mississippi, New Mexico was passing through one of the great episodes of her history—an episode the events of which were certainly unknown among the fledgling colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. She was already an ancient community. A *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* was published ten years before the landing of the Pilgrims. In August, 1680, suddenly, and almost without warning, the Spanish settlers found themselves faced by a concerted revolt of the Pueblo Indians which for a time seemed to threaten their utter extermination. Within six weeks every surviving Spaniard had been driven from New Mexico, and, after a half-hearted attempt at reconquest in the following year had ended in fiasco, the province remained for eleven years in the hands of the rebels or "apostates," as they were called, for their rebellion against the church was regarded as a far more serious offense than their rebellion against the king.

These volumes tell in very great detail the history of the revolt of the Pueblos. The records of the revolt are voluminous. The documents tell the story, however, exclusively from the point of view of the Spaniards. Of the motives and plans of the Indians, of their political organization, and of their military activities, we have only indirect and occasional glimpses.

Professor Hackett's introduction is a narrative rather than an explanatory

preface to the documents which follow. It is a revision of the material contained in three of his published articles.

The complete collection of the *autos*—that is, decrees, proceedings of councils of war, depositions of witnesses, official reports and correspondence, etc.—relating to the revolt was gathered by Professor Hackett and Dr. Shelby from various sources and is here published in full for the first time. Dr. Shelby's translations are everything translations ought to be. They attest not only a mastery of the subject and of the rather obscure Spanish in which many of the documents are written but also, what is rarer, an ability to translate into clear idiomatic English. It is to be regretted that the Spanish could not have been published facing the translations. The inclusion of the original texts would have enhanced the value of these volumes.

The proofreading has been done with meticulous care. There is a useful glossary and a satisfactory index. Unfortunately there is no map. In a work devoted in large part to military operations, this is a great defect. Adequate maps of New Mexico in 1680 are not to be found in every library. Moreover, the location of some of the places where important events took place is a matter of controversy, and Professor Hackett has very definite ideas as to the correct locations.

The University of New Mexico Press is to be complimented on the unusually fine appearance of these volumes.

*Washington, D. C.*

JOSEPH C. GREEN

ROGER CONANT: A FOUNDER OF MASSACHUSETTS. By *Clifford K. Shipton*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. xii, 171. \$3.00.)

EXCEPT for a few special students of colonial New England, the Plymouth Pilgrims and the vigorous group led by John Winthrop which a decade later established the Puritan commonwealth of Massachusetts Bay have naturally overshadowed the comparatively small number of "Old Planters" who during that decade seated themselves here and there along the coast between Plymouth and Cape Ann. One of the early settlers in this region, that picturesque scapegrace, Thomas Morton of Merrymount, has been saved from oblivion largely because the record of his activities serves to enliven the more sober story of his Puritan contemporaries. New light has lately been thrown on his less spectacular but more substantial neighbors, a few of whom, including the subject of this biography, were sufficiently sympathetic with Winthrop and his associates to become citizens of the "Bible Commonwealth."

The son of a Devonshire yeoman, with a background of moderate Puritanism within the Church of England, Roger Conant was in his youth a London tradesman. Migrating to New England in 1623, he was for a time a neighbor of the Plymouth Pilgrims. Then came another brief stay at Nantasket on Boston Harbor and, in 1625, he went to Cape Ann as manager of a fishing station for a company

in England, promoted by the mildly Puritan Church of England rector, John White of Dorchester. This enterprise proving unsuccessful, Conant and some of his followers moved to Naumkeag (later Salem). Presently, however, the Dorchester associates combined with certain London merchants to form a new company, and Conant was superseded by John Endicott. Notwithstanding Endicott's somewhat difficult personality Conant took the change in good part and made possible a reasonably satisfactory adjustment between the "Old Planters" and the newcomers. A year later a royal charter to the Massachusetts Bay Company superseded earlier grants and placed the scattered settlements about the Bay, including Salem, under its jurisdiction.

Conant was enough of a Puritan to play a useful though modest part in the new order as a freeman of the company and a church member. He never became one of the small group of leaders who dominated the colony government; but in his home community, he was a trusted leader in the affairs of church and state. Chapter x of Mr. Shipton's book ("The Town Father") gives an excellent picture of the varied interests and responsibilities of a representative Massachusetts townsman. The author is at pains to correct current misconceptions of seventeenth century Puritanism; and since the reaction from the "filio-pietistic" attitude of the older New England historians has gone pretty far, this sympathetic, understanding, and readable study should help to right the balance. Mr. Shipton's earlier contributions, notably his scholarly continuation of Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, entitle his opinions on controversial issues to a respectful hearing, even though he may seem at times to treat too gently certain less admirable aspects of the Puritan commonwealth and its leaders.

As the author points out, the chief difficulty of Conant's biographer is the scanty supply of personal papers available. Where such material is lacking, what is said about the man himself is frequently conjectural, or based on inferences—generally reasonable if not always conclusive—from what is known about his neighbors and contemporaries. The chief contribution of the book is not so much the account of Conant's personal career as its picture of the society in which he lived and worked.

There are two excellent maps of the Salem-Beverly area with which Conant was associated for more than half a century.

*Croton-on-Hudson, New York*

EVARTS B. GREENE

REMEMBER WILLIAM PENN, 1644-1944. Edited by *William W. Comfort, Francis B. Haas, Gregg L. Neel, and Stanley R. Yarnall* for the William Penn Tercentenary Committee. (Philadelphia: Published by the Committee. 1944. Pp. xvii, 327.)

THIS handbook on the life and works of William Penn assures that the founder

of Pennsylvania will not be soon forgotten by the youth and commonalty of that state. With good sense the editors refrained from adding one more conventional Penn biography to the already long list, and it is presumed that funds were not available for publication of additional material which remains abundant in manuscript form. Instead the choice fell upon this unique condensed arrangement of the events and utterances which elevate William Penn into serene eminence as a contributor to the spiritual growth of man and the development of his political institutions.

Seven chapters—the main portion of the text—show Penn in his human and family relations, as religious leader, political philosopher, governor, diplomat, man of letters, and assay his continuing influence. In general, the authors and editors permit Penn to speak for himself, with balancing quotations from contemporaries and accepted authorities. Documentation is copious; the famous trial by jury is given fifteen pages, the original charter eleven pages, Penn's Charter of Privileges five pages, and his plan for world peace fifteen pages. Truly these are memorable documents; yet this space seems overmuch strong meat for citizenry and for callow youth, if there be such in Pennsylvania.

Laudatory emphasis is inevitable in official memorials; and indeed William Penn is a notable easy to praise—one of the best mortals ever to wrestle with sin on this troubled footstool. Yet, he, too, had his blind side and the defects of his qualities, defects quite as responsible for his misfortunes as were the wiles of his enemies. Certainly Penn cut a nobler figure in Pennsylvania than he did at the Stuart court; his return to England was a tragedy for him and perhaps also for Pennsylvania and America.

Most telling of the book's literary exhibits is Penn's famous essay towards the peace of Europe, published in 1683 and here printed in full. The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its publication found Europe in an even bloodier crisis than it was during Louis XIV's "Third War of Aggression," 1689-97. Here Penn argues for the establishment of "the Sovereign Diet, Parliament or State of Europe; before which Sovereign Assembly shall be brought all differences pending between one sovereign and another that cannot be made up by private embassies before the sessions begin." It reads sensibly today.

Chief lack in *Remember William Penn* would appear to be absence of a complete check list of Penn's many publications, only three of which are noted in the otherwise competent chronology. High praise goes to the copious and well-selected illustrations which reveal the "Man of Conscience" from slim youth to portly age, with special emphasis on his years in Pennsylvania, 1682-84 and 1699-1701. Let all states laggard in historical publication look with envy upon this example of dignified but popularly slanted bookmaking.

*Slingerlands, New York*

ARTHUR POUND

THE YOUNG JEFFERSON, 1743-1789. By *Claude G. Bowers*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1945. Pp. xxviii, 544. \$3.75.)

THE popular author of *Jefferson and Hamilton* and of *Jefferson in Power* has completed his trilogy by giving us a picture of Jefferson's early years. Although called *The Young Jefferson*, the book carries Mr. Bowers' hero to his forty-seventh year and to the conclusion of his mission as minister to France. Three of the nineteen chapters deal with the youth.

Mr. Bowers' many admirers will no doubt find much to their taste in this new work. It is written in the same informal, chatty style, intermixed with a generous leaven of current popular phrases, that they found so estimable in the preceding volumes. The contrast between the correctness and elegance of Jefferson's language and the informality of that of his interpreter, however striking, will not seem discordant to them. Familiar anecdotes of questionable authenticity likewise enliven its pages. The somewhat lurid picture of Jefferson's Virginia background, the imaginary descriptions of Jefferson, his wife and friends, whether by the author or quoted from other writers, follow the conventional pattern. It is all in the best tradition of popularized history.

As a contribution to knowledge, the book is negligible. It is obviously a work written by a man a long way from home, to whom the most recent, and some not so recent, contributions to the vast literature on Jefferson are not familiar. Ignoring manuscript collections as so much contaminated material, the author has taken the standard printed works—the Ford and Lipscomb-Bergh *Writings of Jefferson*, along with *The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*—and, using them as a framework, has constructed his book by quoting and paraphrasing. This is a perfectly legitimate method. It would have been wise, however, to interlard it with the results of later day research. Thus in his discussion of Jefferson's governorship of Virginia, he fails to make use of the wealth of material contained in the 500-odd pages of Volume II of the *Official Letters of the Governors of Virginia*, published in 1928. Any interpretation or account of this period of Jefferson's career is unthinkable without the illumination which these letters throw upon it. It would restrain any author from speculating upon the "trained military men, upon whom depended the defense of the Commonwealth," whom he suspects of being at Jefferson's elbow during the trying days of the invasion.

Similarly in the much-publicized "sentimental interlude" with Maria Cosway, the author depends solely upon incidents and excerpts from Ford and the *Domestic Life*, securely unaware of the cache of tender correspondence between Jefferson and Mrs. Cosway in the Massachusetts Historical Society, which was published by this writer in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* for July, 1928, under the title "Jefferson's Farewell to Romance," or the still more impassioned cache now in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia. He is equally unfamiliar with the publication of the Lucy Paradise letters by Archibald Shepperson in *John Paradise and Lucy Ludwell* (1942). The account of Jefferson's friendship with

other women is based solidly and "four-square," to use a favorite phrase of the author, upon Chinard's *Trois Amitiés* and Abigail Adams' *Letters*, a surfeit of time-tested material.

The minor inaccuracies such as the misspelling of well-known names of persons and places may be mentioned but are scarcely worthy of comment in a book which makes no pretensions to virtues so old-fashioned.

*Charlottesville, Virginia*

MARIE KIMBALL

THE ADMINISTRATIVE THEORIES OF HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON: THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THOUGHT ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. By *Lynton K. Caldwell*. [Studies in Public Administration, Editorial Committee: Leonard D. White and Floyd W. Reeves.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 244. \$3.50.)

NOTWITHSTANDING the mammoth size of the Jefferson and Hamilton secondary literature in this country, Mr. Caldwell believes that the long view on these statesmen has not yet been taken. This volume is offered as part of that measured perspective. It is a distinct and valuable addition towards understanding their technology of administration, and it clarifies the relative administrative achievements of the two statesmen in their own times and terms, and as forces influencing our traditions of public policy. Some questions are raised in this monograph which are not satisfactorily disposed of by the author; but they are all to the good, since they at least formulate coherently important events of government management and planning not previously related. Scholars who see the issues differently will thereby be challenged to validate their own opinions.

The present study, unfortunately, is not quite free from the usual difficulties connected with a field like "administration," a subject matter almost as complex as it appears to be vague. Although it is clear that Mr. Caldwell is using the term "administrative" in its broadest connotation—to include political doctrine and directives, practical decision and management, as well as the particular relations of the executive arm of government to the other branches and to the "people" to whom it is ultimately responsible—the term is neither defined nor utilized with any consistency throughout. Carelessness about a concept so fundamental to the author's study encourages frequent ambiguities of judgment. For example, attempting to appraise Hamilton's *vs.* Jefferson's administrative theory, Mr. Caldwell says that while both are a "contribution to administrative theory . . . Jefferson does not appear to have developed his ideas with the same acuteness with which Hamilton described the functions of energy, unity, duration, and adequate power in *The Federalist*, Nos. 70-74" (p. 130). This statement is wholly misleading (and in fact is substantially denied in other contexts in the book) *unless* "administrative theory" is here taken in one of its narrow senses, to mean the practical policy-making of the government and its theory of executive management. In the narrow

sense, however, the point is at best debatable, or possibly even false. The impression that the author has not ascertained with sufficient persistence the precise meaning he wishes to communicate on basic theoretical issues is strengthened by further uncritical usages of terms like "realistic," "idealistic," etc.—as when he remarks (p. 240) that Hamilton was "somewhat of an *idealist* in his attitude toward the forms, functions and dignities of the state," when the meaning seems to be closer to "romanticist."

These objections do not detract from the high quality of the detailed arguments advanced or from the penetration and suggestiveness of the author's hypotheses. The major conclusion that Hamilton is the "great teacher of the organization and administration of public power" as Jefferson is "our chief expositor of its control" is patiently founded on many lines of evidence. Not quite as much can be said for the author's contention that the political principles advocated by these famous antagonists were not really in sharp opposition—that there is rather a difference in administrative theory and practice at the root of the conflict. Apart from the inadequate textual evidence here, the logic of the means-ends relationship suffices to make one suspect a theory which sees potent differences in means, unaccompanied by vital differences in ends. A further occasion for dissatisfaction is the author's repeated praise of Hamilton's brief for "unity" and "energy" in government, which is purported to be the key to effective administration. There is very little analysis of why this is so, just as there is insufficient reason for minimizing the administrative significance of Jefferson's theory of limited and flexible power within a context of maximum freedom.

Two interesting chapters, novel for an academic study of government, are devoted to the "personality factors" which influenced the respective theories adopted. These appear to be set in a fruitful direction and may offer useful cues for other social scientists to explore.

A final credit line is due for the careful organization of this book, and for its writing, which is workmanlike and confident in tone.

*Institute for Advanced Study*

ADRIENNE KOCH

THE COMPLETION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1790–1830. By *John Allen Krout*, Professor of History, Columbia University, and *Dixon Ryan Fox*, President of Union College. [A History of American Life, Volume V.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1944. Pp. xxiii, 487. \$4.00.)

In the treaty of peace, signed at Paris on September 3, 1783, the independence of the thirteen American colonies was acknowledged by Great Britain. Free at last, the colonials felt as awkward in wearing their new independence as a school-boy feels in his first pair of long trousers. They had always looked across the Atlantic to the mother country for guidance, not only in respect to governmental affairs but also in the field of ideas and fashions and manners and domestic life.



Politically independent, as they had undoubtedly become, they were nevertheless in all other ways just a widespreading, sprawling suburb of the tight little English island.

The book which is the subject of this review is appropriately called *The Completion of Independence*. It covers the forty years of our national life—from 1790 to 1830—when the American people were winning, by degrees, their cultural and economic freedom. “Americans, unshackle your minds and act like independent beings,” Noah Webster wrote in 1790. “You have now an interest of your own to augment and defend. You have an empire to raise . . . and a national character to establish and extend.”

The establishment of a true democracy, to take the place of the aristocratic tradition inherited from the English, was accomplished during this period, but only after a long internal conflict. The English of the eighteenth century believed implicitly that the existence of poverty on a large scale was essential to national power and importance. The landless workers, such as farm hands, mechanics, clerks, servants, and so on, should be paid only just enough to feed them poorly and clothe them shabbily, and this attitude toward them was not inspired by greed but was carried on as a matter of policy; for what in the world would become of a nation if its field hands and blacksmiths could strut around in the garments of the gentry, have coins clinking in their pockets, send their children to school, and be permitted to vote?

When our republic was formed and for several decades thereafter the voting franchise was based on a property qualification in all but three states—namely New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Georgia. In 1790 New York state had a population of 340,000, but only 1,209 of its citizens had the right to vote. Free schools, in most of the states, were nonexistent for many years after our independence was won. The children of the poor were not included in the educational program. What good would it do them, asked the solons of that era. It would only serve to make them discontented with their lot.

The change in this system of overlords and peasants was accomplished—in a large measure—by the access to millions of acres of free land lying west of the Alleghanies. Poor families, settling in the new lands, often built up sizable fortunes in the course of a generation. And in the older states, on the seaboard, the population grew prodigiously. Small shopkeepers became wealthy merchants; mechanics went into manufacturing; the shipowners of Salem established a trade with China; and the recently acquired Louisiana Territory became a fertile region larger than most of the kingdoms of Europe.

No review, unless it runs into half a dozen pages, can present an adequate description of the ground covered by this book, or give more than a faint indication of the color and gusto with which it is written. It covers dozens of subjects which belong to the 1790–1830 period. Here are a few: Suspenders for trousers were patented in 1804. Just think of that—of suspenders being a patentable device!

The White House, when John Adams, its first occupant, moved into it, had 180 candlelights in its East Room, and one servant had to give his entire time to them. Until around the 1820's clocks were a rarity in most households, for they were too expensive for a family of moderate means, and most people went by "sun time." The first hotel of the modern type was the Tremont House in Boston, opened in 1829. Soap was actually furnished free to guests; every door had a patent lock, and the guests were given keys which would open that door only, so there was complete privacy. Tomatoes were called "love apples" in the early decades of the nineteenth century and were supposed to be poisonous. Blood-letting was the usual treatment by doctors for almost any ailment from indigestion to pneumonia.

During the period covered by this history lawyers attained a respectability in the public mind that they had never had before. School teachers, too, rose in the social scale, and in many sections of the country free schools were established by public subscription. An American literature developed, and an American culture, in general, ranging from arts to furniture, began to supplant our European heritage.

The book reflects much credit on its authors, John Allen Krout and Dixon Ryan Fox. It is very readable, and is interesting and informative from the first to the last page. Moreover, it gives an air of charm to our national past which is often lacking in historical works.

*New York City*

W. E. WOODWARD

FIGHTING JOE HOOKER. By *Walter H. Hebert*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1944. Pp. 366. \$3.50.)

MR. HEBERT'S book is the first full-length biography of a figure at once important in the story of the command of the Union armies and interesting as a human being. In its preparation he had the use of the Hooker Papers and of a very considerable collection of clippings and other newspaper materials, made available by surviving members of the Hooker connection. The book is in no sense, however, a "family" or "authorized" biography. Judicious use is made of many sources of information, from which there emerges a not unsympathetic but by no means adulatory picture of a curiously contradictory character.

Graduate of West Point, Hooker made a brilliant record in the War with Mexico, being three times brevetted for gallantry, and coming out of the war a lieutenant colonel. Resigning from the Army, he followed farming, business, and politics on the Pacific Coast with such lack of success that it was only a loan, or it may have been a gift, from a California saloon-keeping friend which enabled him to make his way back east to seek a command in the greater war which began in 1861.

Asking for a regiment, he got a brigade, which he handled well in adminis-

tration and gallantly, though not quite so well, in combat. Promotion followed, until at Fredericksburg Hooker was in command of one of the three grand divisions of the Army of the Potomac. By that time, the command of that army had proved to be too much for four men. Hooker had served under three of them and had criticized all of them with a facile and caustic tongue. To this chronic critic, though not because but in spite of his criticisms, President Lincoln entrusted the command of the principal Union Army in the East, with misgivings which he expressed most frankly and understandably to the general himself.

No man ever came to the command of an army under circumstances which offered greater possibilities of dramatic distinction, or of catastrophe. With what he called, not without reason, the "finest army on the planet," the new commander crossed the river in May, 1863, to seek the army of Lee. His intelligence service was good and he knew that Lee had hardly more than half his own numbers, but in the presence of Lee and under the pressure of sole responsibility, the cocky, bumptious self-confidence which Hooker had displayed in criticism of his commanders, simply evaporated.

Chancellorsville is a study in strategy and tactics. Mr. Hebert treats the strategy and tactics competently but, quite properly, lays stress on the other deciding factor, the collapse of the self-confidence of the Union commander. There is no finer example of the validity of Napoleon's dictum as to the relative importance in warfare of material and moral power.

Having lost confidence in himself, and lost Chancellorsville, the rest of Hooker's story is one of decline to less important commands and of continued difficulties with his commanders. To the very end, though, he was a general with "newspaper appeal"—as witness the correspondents' creation of the legend of "The Battle above the Clouds" on Lookout Mountain. He was a general, too, with soldier appeal, for as Mr. Hebert abundantly demonstrates, he was at his best in looking out for the comfort and well-being of the men under his command. He was "good copy" in the days of his lifetime and his story as told by Mr. Hebert now is thoroughly readable as well as a sound study of one who had no small part in the great military and human story of the sixties.

*Washington, D. C.*

ROBERT S. HENRY

AGAINST THE CURRENT: THE LIFE OF KARL HEINZEN (1809-80).

By *Carl Wittke*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1945. Pp. x, 342. \$3.75.)

So far we have had monographs on various aspects of Karl Heinzen's life—on his literary ambitions, his critical writings, his political activities; now for the first time we have a comprehensive, well-written biography of this great nineteenth century radical. It is most fortunate that this task was undertaken by a historian whose intimate knowledge of the general background of immigration

history enables him to make a fair and objective evaluation of this complex and sometimes rather debatable figure.

Heinzen's beginnings show the typical development of a liberal-minded young German in the era of "restauration,"—his hatred of Prussian militarism, his unwillingness to put on the strait jacket of a state official, his constant quarrels with the authorities, and finally his break with the reactionary government of the fatherland. This was the usual start for a radical of his time; typical also were the following stages—years of temporary refuge in Switzerland and western Europe and finally the emigration to the United States. From this point on, however, he left the traditional pattern of the German revolutionaries who either became so thoroughly Americanized that they retained only a mild interest in European affairs (Charles Follen, Carl Schurz) or reconciled their revolutionary inclinations with the rising Prussian eagle and became ardent followers of Bismarck (Friedrich Kapp, Wilhelm Rapp). Heinzen did neither. He remained a German radical, with all his merits and shortcomings. For twenty-five years he edited his paper *Der Pionier* in Boston, and since it was practically a one-man paper, we are able to gather a rounded picture of his ideas. He had very definite opinions about things. He was a most vehement advocate of woman's emancipation, of freedom of the press; he antagonized many people through his radical abolitionist views. When it came to the problem of foreign policy, he attacked isolationism and confronted it with his "One World" ideas of liberty: that America "cannot be safe and enjoy liberty as long as the rest of the world is in chains," and that the United States should intervene in any struggle of liberty anywhere. His revolutionary spirit did not evaporate in the heated enthusiasm of the German-Americans over the peace celebrations of 1871; he even refused to set foot on German soil, which in his opinion was disgraced by the Hohenzollern regime.

Sometimes it is difficult to find out where in Heinzen's soul the honesty ends and the stubbornness begins. It is tragic irony that he who fought against isolationism on the broad scale of international relations became more and more involved in a personal isolation which cut him off from any possibility of exerting journalistic or political influence. He never overcame the difficulties of language, he never reached anybody outside of the isolated German-American world. Yet, even if we disregard this linguistic handicap, much more tragic was the fact that in a broader sense he was unable to speak the language of the people with whom he had to deal: the German-Americans, sociologically speaking the lower middle class, honest and decent folk but no fanatics, people who liked their *Gemütlichkeit*, their turner and singing societies, and who felt uneasy when this raging German-American Savonarola scolded them for every innocent parade or pageant which they arranged for their festivals. When he deplored the waste of money on parades which might be spent on revolutionary brochures for Germany, they simply could not see his point. It is the tragedy of his life that he who struggled so valiantly and honestly to better the fate of the common man never found the right tone to talk to the very social strata whose conditions he wanted to improve. It led Heinzen

into a blind alley of bitterness and frustration. His idealism and uprightness deserve highest credit; yet his unbalanced temper and his undisciplined tactlessness deprived him of any possibility of broader influence.

Carl Wittke succeeds admirably in bringing out the lines, wrinkles, and shadows in his portrait of this great fighter. He has used a great deal of hitherto unpublished manuscript material and has drawn extensively on the files of Heinzen's periodical. Most of these sources are in German, and so we should welcome Wittke's book all the more, for it integrates this material into American historiography. If the reviewer has one small reservation to make, it concerns the title. It was taken from Heinzen's words: "It is hard to swim against the current, but it is upstream that one finds the source, and the clearer, fresher water." As good an epigram as it is, it does not seem to me to express the essence of Heinzen's life. Too often he was swimming neither with nor against the current but just puddling in a pool of dead water outside of the great stream of life.

*University of Maryland*

DIETER CUNZ

THE GREAT LAKES. By *Harlan Hatcher*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 384. \$3.50.)

UNTIL recently the Great Lakes were not represented in the current literature of the American scene. Perhaps the lakes, which are a remarkably varied area rather than a region, seemed too large a subject for a single volume to encompass. As Mr. Hatcher says, "It is somewhat difficult to hold them in mind as a unit." But in the last few seasons the current "regional" literature has found the lakes to be a rich subject, and now Mr. Hatcher has written an inclusive, unified, and lively account of the development of commerce on the lakes and the development of civilization in the entire lakes area.

Probably it is a book for the lay reader rather than the historian, though the historian will find it accurate, sound, and stimulating in its synthesis of economic and social history. But the emphasis is more interpretive than informative, and the book belongs to literature rather than history. Mr. Hatcher begins his account in an air liner from Chicago to Montreal, and that air view of the "Great Lakes Bowl" suggests the broad view and the long perspective he maintains throughout the entire volume. Its achievement lies in the bringing together of a vast amount of information to which the author gives illuminating sequence and relationship.

The freshest and most rewarding chapter in this very readable book is "Great Lakes Melting Pot." It portrays the mingled races that took passage on the emigrant boats a century ago and settled the mining camps of Upper Michigan, the forests of Wisconsin, the orchards and meadows beside Lake Michigan, and the feverishly growing cities from Buffalo to Chicago and Duluth. This chapter alone gives valuable synthesis to the scattered strands of development in an area that is a kind of Mediterranean of the New World.

While grateful for a book with such sweep and perspective, one can find an

occasional error. The town of Green Bay seems on page 216 to be placed on the Saginaw; it must be Bay City that is meant. Lumberjacks never "worked up the rivers of . . . Illinois"—there was no organized logging in the Prairie State. On the end-paper map the Gogebic Iron Range in Upper Michigan is misplaced by two hundred miles and appears almost exactly in the location of the more important but unindicated Marquette Range. These are minor matters in a book of major merit.

A final word should be said for the physical attractiveness of the volume. Though a "wartime book" it is pleasing to the eye and to the hand. And its usefulness is enhanced by the inclusion of several small maps and a number of well-selected and excellently printed photographs of the cities, the shores, and the vessels of the lakes.

*Miami University*

WALTER HAVIGHURST

PADDLE-WHEEL DAYS IN CALIFORNIA. By Jerry MacMullen. (Stanford University Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 157. \$3.00.)

ONCE more Stanford University Press offers a volume of popular history, in a field largely untouched by conventional historians, to match Edgar Kahn's *Cable Car Days in San Francisco*, Gilbert Kneiss's *Bonanza Railroads*, Oscar Winther's *Express and Stagecoach Days in California*, and the late "Bill" Chalfant's *Tales of the Pioneers*, already published by that press. This time the steamboats and ferries which once plied California's inland waters are the subject of sprightly discussion, and Jerry MacMullen's little book constitutes a welcome addition to this growing sheaf of local historical gleanings. The story of the old-time paddle-wheelers has long deserved to be told. It is fitting that it should be told so genially and with such nostalgic zest.

For the steamers which plied the busy waterways of California's youth have literally been sold down the river, those whose hulks were not left to rot along some stinking "slough" having been paddled off to Puget Sound or the River Platte or some equally faraway haven. In their place vast fleets of grimy little diesel boats nose their way among the islands and along the river channels. And the giant steel bridges that the engineers have thrown across the bay and between the hinges of the Golden Gate have effectively done for the ferries, save for a few to which wartime transport needs have afforded a brief lease on life. Soon the sonorous whistles of even these will be stilled, and it is whispered that the lordly *Delta King* may never return from the wars to "the Sacramento run."

It seems curious that this highly interesting chapter of early western life has not long since been worthily examined. Until the appearance of this volume, however, most of the material here for the first time gathered together has remained locked in files of old newspapers or government documents or has been fading away in the memories of old river and ferry men. The story which Mr.

MacMullen tells will therefore be new to most of his readers, to many of whom the tale of the steamboats on the Colorado may well come as a surprise. A onetime journalist now on active duty with the Navy, the author's fact-filled paragraphs reflect much time and effort spent in the search for his material. For the more important of the old vessels—the *Chrysopolis*, the *Jenny Lind*, the *Antelope*, and many another—there is individual treatment. The fires and explosions, the problems of the river pilots, the ingenious machinery, the giant “walking beams” of the ferries (the gyrations of which this reviewer used to watch as a boy with such wonder and delight)—these, and many another forgotten phase of life on these waterways, are given the author's kindly, and obviously fascinated, attention. And, besides many interesting photographs, Mr. MacMullen's agreeable drawings of the old vessels deserve special mention.

Perhaps Mr. MacMullen (and the Stanford University Press) wished by the omission of a bibliography to demonstrate that they were eschewing so-called “scholarly” effort, and to prove that this is a truly “popular” work. The lengthy lists of vessels and their makers, the table of distances along the rivers and the carefully prepared index will doubtless be found helpful. To the reader who may desire to explore further this interesting story, however, the lack of a better statement of sources may well prove disappointing.

Oh, well, “Up bar! Down bar! Watch that snag, Captain.” And—“Hey you in the green suit—You get off at the next landing, Mister.”

*Washington, D. C.*

CARL I. WHEAT

DEVELOPMENT OF TWO BANK GROUPS IN THE CENTRAL NORTHWEST: A STUDY IN BANK POLICY AND ORGANIZATION. By *Charles Sterling Popple*. [Harvard Studies in Business History, IX, edited by N. S. B. Gras.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Pp. xxv, 418. \$4.50.)

It is seldom that between the covers of a not-too-long book a student can read the banking history of a period as short as fortunate man's life span and yet one that covers its birth, rugged development, expansion, and finally its maturity—and a maturity that is possibly more complete than that of the banking systems of some European countries. All this with respect to banking in an area which only sixty years ago completed its first transcontinental railroad and which built its last as recently as thirty-five years ago.

The *financial* frontier in the Northwest has disappeared with greater speed than have the “*retarded* frontiers” which Veblen found and observed in the area. During the period of the first World War, the banks of the Northwest experienced an *increase* of deposits of eight hundred million dollars. This enlarged amount of deposits was offset by a like increase in the amount of loans, and these loans were, so to speak, provincial, *i.e.*, of a strictly local species and owed by the people of the



area served by the banks. None need be told that the depression after World War I resulted in the concomitant banking strain falling squarely upon the people of the district itself. Out of their economic hides were their debts extinguished. Some of the Central Northwest states lost no less than three quarters of their banks.

The present wartime increase in deposits in banks in Central Northwest states is already more than eighteen hundred million dollars. Against this the banks have a greater amount in government bonds and cash. The people of the district now are long on cash and short on debt! Short-term governments are as prized on the prairie as on Wall Street; liquidity is not just a Keynesian word.

This book tells a most interesting tale of Central Northwest development. Its particular story, to be sure, is the development of two bank groups, each of which can now boast of being "more than a billion dollar institution" and of embracing great metropolitan institutions to which the small units in the hinterland are attached. These central institutions are magnificently housed and magnificently liquid.

But another interesting part of the story is to be found in the reflections it gives of the district in which these banking institutions now operate. They themselves have served it well. But about the time they were formed and in their first years of operation there was what is so ably described by Popple as a "search for liquidity" that has within ten years turned to a "period of quiet" and now to a liquidity so resounding as to be perhaps a portent of more drama or distress ahead. The reader of Popple's interesting book will weigh whether or not drama and distress of the kind he has portrayed will be repeated; whether or not in these days of FDIC, RFC, CCC, FRB, and FTC, the older and controversial issue—the type of banking organization that can serve such an area best—will not prove to have been resolved by a command performance by omnipotent government.

*Minneapolis, Minnesota*

ARTHUR R. UPGREN

SOCIAL DARWINISM IN AMERICAN THOUGHT, 1860-1915. By *Richard Hofstadter*, Department of History, University of Maryland. [Prepared and published under the direction of the American Historical Association from the income of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1944. Pp. viii, 191. \$2.50.)

If ideas are truly weapons of change and implements of action, this volume could hardly fail to captivate a generation of scholars who seek to understand the one and to direct the other. While the spirit of ideas moves in the deeds of men, their being is rooted in the vortex of culture. This book deals with evolutionary science during a crucial period of social change in America. Herein lies its significance, for evolutionary science has been more frequently accepted than assayed as the role of ideas has been more frequently assumed than comprehended. Monographic scholarship has explored specific ideas, recreated the cultural norms

of the past, and investigated the implications of the sociology of knowledge, but there are few examples in American historiography of a successful blending of the three. And it is precisely within these areas that the problems which press for solution lie.

Dr. Hofstadter essays to illustrate how social theories inferred from biology were reflected in human motivations and how the prevailing "intellectual climate" provided an environment favorable to their acceptance. The author surveys the coming of evolution in its Darwinian and Spencerian forms followed by an analysis of the thought of William G. Sumner and Lester F. Ward. The former represents a rigid determinism, the philosophy of *laissez faire*, a monistic interpretation of evolution; the latter human purpose, the philosophy of human control, based upon a dualistic interpretation of evolution which distinguished nature from society, man from animals, and institutions from individuals. Subsequent thinkers who followed evolutionary insights espoused variants of the one or the other. American racist and imperialistic ideologies were reinforced by the first as were reactionary defenses of the social *status quo*; Marxians, Christian Socialists, and a host of critics, of whom Henry George, Edward Bellamy, and Herbert Croly were the most noteworthy, dissented in the name of the second. If there is an observable connection between Yankee ethnocentrism and evolution, there is an equally traceable connection between evolution and American pragmatism, between Darwin and Spencer on the one hand and Pierce, James, and Dewey on the other.

Despite the commendation which this book deserves, there is far too little conceptual discrimination. To point out where and how Darwinism and Spencerianism converged is just as needful as to distinguish between them. Nor are basic categories—monism, determinism, pragmatism (as ominous verbally as they are significant socially)—as crystally defined as their use warrants. Science, to be sure, is neutral, but scientists are not, which should have led to a discussion of the role of ideas at least in social Darwinian terms. Yet Dr. Hofstadter has succeeded in fulfilling his primary objective; what he has done, he has done well.

*Sarah Lawrence College*

BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD COURT. By *Denna Frank Fleming*, Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1945. Pp. 206. \$2.00.)

THE United States, Dr. Fleming is convinced, should have joined the League of Nations. To have adhered to the World Court without joining the League would have meant accepting only "a pale substitute"; yet the act, he contends, would have had a certain moral value. But this "smallest possible step" toward supporting the world's peace machinery was never taken, although the project was supported by all the presidents from Harding to Roosevelt and a majority of the senators and had, according to Dr. Fleming, nearly unanimous public opinion

behind it at one time. The history of the project is traced from its American origins as early as 1832 down to its final defeat by the Senate in 1935.

Judged by conventional canons, the book has certain shortcomings. It makes no attempt at objectivity. Woodrow Wilson is its hero and praise or blame is allotted to all other characters according to their support or opposition to Wilsonian principles. The villains are Henry Cabot Lodge and William E. Borah, aided and abetted by numerous lesser scoundrels. Occasionally the author's statements are misleading, as when he says that the Lodge reservations to the Treaty of Versailles were defeated (p. 31), when what he means is that the *treaty* with reservations was defeated, or when he obscures the point of the "cash and carry" clauses of the Neutrality Act of 1937 (p. 139). He has a fondness for superlatives which will bother some readers, while others will consider the study to have too narrow a basis in the sources.

It is somewhat disappointing, moreover, that Dr. Fleming discusses isolationism so exclusively as an occupational disease of senators. As he himself shows, aid and comfort to the foes of international co-operation were contributed at certain critical moments by John Bassett Moore, Samuel O. Levinson, J. Reuben Clark, Will Rogers, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. So heterogeneous a list suggests that most Americans during the twenties and thirties had at least a mild case of isolationism. Why this was so would make an interesting subject for further investigation.

But if this study leaves something to be desired as a definitive work of scholarship, it is thoroughly successful as a timely indictment of the constitutional machinery for the ratification of treaties—and this, we may be confident, was the author's chief purpose in writing it. The Senate's treaty veto, he says is "a deadly danger to the life of the nation, a mortal danger to the entire Constitution itself, the one thing in it which is working inexorably to bring the whole edifice of American constitutional government down in ruins" (p. 166). This may seem an overstatement, but Dr. Fleming makes a strong case, so strong that the book deserves a wide public. For senators it ought to be made compulsory reading, since their consent to a constitutional amendment would open up the best avenue of escape from a bad situation. Alternative courses of action do exist, and Dr. Fleming discusses their respective merits.

*Syracuse University*

NELSON M. BLAKE

ARGENTINE RIDDLE. By *Felix J. Weil*. Issued in cooperation with the Latin American Economic Institute. (New York: John Day Company. 1944. Pp. xiii, 297. \$3.50.)

It is likely that reviewers will vary widely in their judgments of Mr. Weil's book, for it is a difficult one to dispose of neatly by formula. The parts of the book which deal with recent politics and with relations with the United States are less

scholarly and objective than those dealing with recent economic trends in Argentina. The point of view one encounters in the former sections, however, is of value to American readers, for it is that of an Argentine citizen with both business and government experience. Weil shows, for example, a skepticism concerning the major political parties and most political leaders which is widespread in Argentina and which is reinforced in his case by a faith in economic determinism in history. For this reason he escapes the errors of those foreign observers who have assessed men like Justo and Ortiz at their face value. This reviewer feels, however, that Mr. Weil oversimplifies the situation by his insistence that *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. One may grant that Irigoyen and Alvear varied less in governmental practice from Justo, Ortiz, and Castillo than their party affiliations and political pronouncements would suggest. One may also find similarities between their policies and those of the military governments of Uriburu (1930) and Ramírez-Farrell (1943—). "Pure" elections may have been conspicuous by their absence, politicians frequently self-seeking (and not in Argentina alone), and the controlling economic power of the *estancieros* in alliance with foreign (chiefly British) capital may well have provided an important element of continuity in Argentine politics. Nevertheless, the growth of Argentine nationalism, and of the industrial and professional military interests now associated with it, has done much to undermine the traditional balance of power. Indeed, Mr. Weil goes part way toward recognizing the fact in his discussion of the future of Argentine industry.

The most valuable portion of the book is its presentation of the basic facts in Argentine economics and economic policy. The author clears a path through a mass of errors in the use of Argentine statistics that have crept into recent books in English on that country and shows ability to use the available figures with critical discrimination. He writes with close acquaintance with the past decade of Argentine economic policy and with particular authority about the Pineda plan. In chapters dealing both with the land and with industry there is material which has not before been available in general books. The author shows the continuing strength of the *latifundio* and the inadequacy of efforts to bring it under control. He shows that the strength of the Argentine labor movement has frequently been overestimated by American writers. He also shows how Argentine industry has grown, not so much through planning as by taking advantage of emergency situations during the first World War, the depression, and the present world conflict. He presents an optimistic picture of future industrial development, with which he is in full sympathy, considering it a necessary prelude to effective political democracy. He apparently thinks of this as more important than agrarian reform and as preceding it, though others might uphold the view that the latter is equally necessary for Argentine progress.

*Argentine Riddle* is the fruit of much solid study and of a lifetime acquaintance with the subjects dealt with. No American interested in Argentina will fail to

profit by reading it. Mr. Weil's impatience with some of his predecessors in the interpretation of Argentina to the United States leads him to magnify the importance of some of the slips into which they have fallen. This is, however, a very human tendency. He has subjected some of the people who indulge in the indoor sport of debunking John Gunther *et al.* to a dose of their own medicine. Some of the points made, among them the analysis of Bunge's method in arriving at certain widely quoted but questionable figures on the occupational classification of the population of Argentina, are real contributions. Mr. Weil's discussion of tariff policy is an example of his occasional tendency to overstress certain points. In showing that Argentina's tariff was never planned for the protection of industry he tends to disregard the fact that exchange control and other checks to free trade provided support for industry that the tariff did not.

If Mr. Weil has not given us the answer to his "Argentine riddle" he has provided a key to important aspects of the problem. The preface shows that the book grew out of earlier special studies which were expanded on rather short notice into a book to meet the needs of the American public in 1944. This reviewer believes that a balanced and comprehensive view would have required greater attention to Argentine nationalism. Even if the direct Fascist inspiration and the Nazi connections of the present regime have been overstressed abroad owing to insufficient knowledge of the domestic roots of the tendency, the fact remains that an effort is being made to forge a state with many totalitarian aspects. Even if ideology is disregarded as mere verbiage, the domestic record of the Ramirez-Farrell government goes a long way to indicate that the old control by the *estancieros* has been sharply modified.

Vassar College

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

\* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

General History

POLITICS AND MORALS. By *Benedetto Croce*. Translated from the Italian by Salvatore J. Castiglione. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1945, pp. 204, \$3.00.)

GLOBAL POLITICS. Edited by *Russell H. Fitzgibbon*. Lectures delivered under the auspices of the Institute of Political Geography, University of California, Los Angeles, Summer, 1942. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1944, pp. xii, 189, \$2.50.) This compact and timely volume is an illustration of the ways in which the present war has affected contemporary American thought with respect to the character and relationships of geography and politics. As one of the contributors points out, the academic world has been shocked into a new state of awareness and responsibility along these lines. It was such an awareness that caused the authorities of the University of California at Los Angeles to develop, as a principal feature of the summer session of 1942, an institute of political geography. The addresses given in that connection are here presented in the form of twelve essays by eleven contributors. To these is appended a classified bibliography of a hundred-odd books and articles, mostly in English. These papers were prepared at a time when already the eventual defeat of the Axis powers was a foregone conclusion. Their study at a moment when victory is near and a world conference has undertaken to shape the pattern of the postwar world is particularly rewarding. The plan of the symposium has been laid out so as to discuss from various points of view the relationships between geography and politics, with specific reference to case studies represented by Latin America, Canada, Central Europe, India, the Netherlands East Indies, and Eastern Asia. While the analysis of the problems of each of these areas with reference to a settled postwar world deserves study, the principal contribution of the book is found in Professor Steiner's introductory essay on the relation between geography and politics and in Professor Broek's excellent chapter on the German school of geopolitics. Professor Steiner points out that the political subversion and misuse of geographical knowledge was an important factor in bringing the world to its present crisis. Professor Broek presents the best brief discussion of geopolitics known to the reviewer and concludes that the subject warrants study only as an intellectual phenomenon and as a dangerous propaganda weapon.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS

POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD: PARLIAMENTS, PARTIES, AND PRESS, AS OF JANUARY 1, 1945. Edited by *Walter Hampton Mallory*. (New York, Council on Foreign Relations, 1945, pp. 197, \$2.75.) "Political information on all the countries of the world including composition of governments, programs of the parties and their leaders, and political affiliations of the leading newspapers and periodicals."

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STABILITY: ALTHUSIUS: GROTIUS: VAN VOLLENHOVEN. By *P. S. Gerbrandy*, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, formerly Professor of Commercial Law and International Private Law in the Free University of Amsterdam. The Tylorian Lecture, 1944. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944, pp. 69.)

A MINIATURE HISTORY OF THE WAR DOWN TO THE LIBERATION OF PARIS. By R. C. K. Ensor. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. ix, 153, \$1.50.)

THE WORLD AT WAR, 1939-1944: A BRIEF HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II. Materials for the use of Army orientation program, prepared from public sources by Military Intelligence Division, War Department. [Fighting Forces Series.] (Washington, Infantry Journal, 1945, pp. 416, maps, 25 cents.) "A brief military history of the war, to November 1, 1944, assembled mostly from various newspapers and military journals."

BELGIUM. Edited by John Eppstein. [British Survey Handbooks, General Editor, John Eppstein, Vol. I.] (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. vi, 111, \$1.00.)

RUMANIA. By C. Kormos. [British Survey Handbooks, General Editor, John Eppstein, Vol. II.] (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. vi, 122, \$1.00.)

GREECE. Compiled by Kathleen Gibberd. [British Survey Handbooks, General Editor, John Eppstein, Vol. III.] (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. vi, 106, \$1.00.)

THE EARLY CARTOGRAPHY OF THE PACIFIC. By Lawrence C. Wroth. [The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, Volume XXXVIII, Number 2.] (New York, Bibliographical Society of America, 1944, pp. 87-268, plates.) This scholarly volume is the outgrowth of an exhibition of maps held in the spring of 1943 at the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, of which Mr. Wroth is librarian. By skillful selection from the vast body of material relating to the discovery and exploration of the Pacific, the story of its cartographic development is told as it is reflected in a series of more than one hundred well-chosen maps. It begins with the world map of Claudius Ptolemy, 150 A.D., that has a land-locked Indian Ocean and no Pacific Ocean. The gradual disappearance of this phenomenon is traced through the Arabic and ecclesiastical maps of the Middle Ages as well as in the portolan charts of this period. The travels of Marco Polo and the voyages of the Portuguese navigators along the coasts of Africa contributed much to the geographical knowledge embodied in the 1492 globe of Martin Behaim. The portrayal of the whole continent of Africa, the development of the peninsulas of India and of Malaya and the discovery of the Spice Islands are discussed in turn, and show that the hypothetical Pacific became an easy reality upon Balboa's discovery and Magellan's circumnavigation. That persistent representation of the fabulous Terra Australis is followed from the Beatus manuscript of the late ninth or early tenth century through the various stages of its diminishing size to the end of the eighteenth century. The discoveries and explorations by the Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, Russians, and English, of the coasts of New Guinea, the Solomons, Australia, Japan, and northwestern North America are each considered at length, emphasizing their major contributions to the unfolding map of the Pacific. Making its appearance at a time when Americans have a keen interest in the Pacific, this well annotated volume is a valuable contribution to the growing literature on the history of cartography in the English language. One could wish that a larger number of the maps that serve as prototypes had been reproduced.

CLARA EGLI LE GEAR



THE ENGLISH GEOGRAPHERS AND THE ANGLO-AMERICAN FRONTIER IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Fulmer Mood*. [University of California Publications in Geography, Volume 6, No. 9.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1944, pp. 363-96.) The literature of overseas expansion since the discovery of the New World is vast. A segment of this is analyzed by Dr. Mood in his brief but valuable study that seeks to make clear not only the role of English geographers of the seventeenth century in keeping the people of England informed of the progress of their fellow countrymen directly concerned in this movement but also the attitude of these writers toward it. The works of such geographers as George Abbott, Peter Heylyn, William Castell, Thomas Gage, George Gardiner, John Ogilby, Richard Ligon, and John Josselyn are passed in review, and the importance of the contribution of each writer to transatlantic expansion is considered. Dr. Mood, while paying particular tribute to the really important geographical contributions of both Gardiner, in his *A Description of the New World or America, Islands and Continent . . . in the Year 1649* (1651), and Ogilby, in his *America: Being the Latest, and Most Accurate Description of the New World*, etc. (1671), indicates that nearly all the writers, no matter how weak as geographers, were strong as promoters of English colonization and overseas trade.

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

BASIC WRITINGS OF SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS. Edited by *Anton C. Pegis*. Two volumes. (New York, Random House, 1945, pp. 1150; 1210, \$7.50.) "A revised, corrected, and annotated edition of the English Dominican translation of St. Thomas."

POPE PIUS XII, PRIEST AND STATESMAN: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Kees Van Hoek*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1945, pp. 106, \$2.00.)

MOZART: HIS CHARACTER, HIS WORK. By *Alfred Einstein*. Translated by Arthur Mendel and Nathan Broder. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. 502, \$5.00.)

JOSEPH LISTER, FATHER OF MODERN SURGERY. By *Rhoda Truax* [Mrs. R. H. Aldrich]. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1944, pp. 287, \$3.50.)

EDVARD BENES IN HIS OWN WORDS: THREESCORE YEARS OF A STATESMAN, BUILDER, AND PHILOSOPHER. (New York, Czech-American National Alliance, 1944, pp. 158, \$2.00.) "Quotations from the writings and speeches of President Benes of Czechoslovakia, arranged chronologically, with a calendar of his writings and the events of his life."

CHAIM WEIZMANN: STATESMAN, SCIENTIST, BUILDER OF THE JEWISH COMMONWEALTH. Edited by *Meyer W. Weisgal*. Foreword by Felix Frankfurter. (New York, Dial Press, 1944, pp. 340, \$3.50.)

THE CHURCH IN LATVIA. By *Alfred Bilmanis*. (New York, Drauga Vēsts, 1945, pp. 35.)

HOW TO DISPOSE OF RECORDS: A MANUAL FOR FEDERAL OFFICIALS. [The National Archives, Publication No. 45-5.] (Washington, the National Archives, 1945, pp. iv, 50.)

A BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE STUDY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY, 1815-1939. Second Supplement. Compiled by *Lowell Joseph Ragatz*, Professor of History in the George Washington University. (Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, 1945, pp. xii, 73, \$1.10.)

THE HUMANITIES CHART THEIR COURSE: REPORT OF THE SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE HELD BY THE STANFORD SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES, AUGUST 11 AND 12. (Stanford University, University Press, 1945, pp. 87, \$1.00.) "The course of the humanities, the ideal contents of a humanistic education, and the ways of reconciling them with the time allotted to such an education, were among questions included in the discussion at the School of Humanities annual conference held at Stanford University."

THE STUDY OF MODERN HISTORY: AN INAUGURAL LECTURE DELIVERED AT CAMBRIDGE ON 14 NOVEMBER 1944. By *H. Butterfield*, Professor of Modern History and Fellow of Peterhouse. (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1944, pp. 34, 2 shillings.)

## ARTICLES

- RICHARD L. PORTER. Classical Antiquity and the Modern Historian. *Hist. Bull.*, Mar.  
 HANS JULIUS WOLFF. Papyrology, Its Scope, History, and Achievements. *Bull. Polish Inst. Arts and Sci. in Am.*, Jan.  
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 EARL J. HAMILTON. Use and Misuse of Price History. *Ibid.*  
 STANLEY PARGELLIS, RALPH BUDD, COLSTON E. WARNE. The Corporation and the Historian. *Ibid.*  
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 Sixty-sixth Critical Bibliography of the History and Philosophy of Science and of the History of Civilization (to July, 1944). *Isis*, Summer, 1944.  
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*Id.* The Duke of Alba Reconsidered. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Mar.  
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 E. F. MACPIKE. American and Canadian Diaries, Journals, and Note Books, Part II. *Bull. Bibliog.*, Dec.  
 RAYMOND CARR. Gustavus IV and the British Government, 1804-9. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Jan.  
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 OSCAR KARBACH. The Founder of Political Antisemitism: Georg von Schoenerer. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Jan.  
 BENJAMIN SHWADRAN. Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist Leader. *Jewish Rev.*, Jan.  
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 CARL L. LOKKE. A Sketch of the Interallied Organizations of the First World War Period and Their Records. *Am. Archivist*, Oct.  
 HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG. Last Time. *For. Affairs*, Apr.  
 R. R. BETTS. The European Satellite States, Their War Contribution and Present Position. *Internat. Affairs*, Jan.  
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Ancient History<sup>1</sup>

T. R. S. Broughton

SUMERIAN LITERARY TEXTS FROM NIPPUR IN THE MUSEUM OF THE ANCIENT ORIENT AT ISTANBUL. By S. N. Kramer, Associate Curator in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. [The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Volume XXIII, 1943-44, edited for the Trustees by Millar Burrows and E. A. Speiser.] (New Haven, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1945, pp. viii, 47, plates, \$2.50.) The publication contains the autographed texts of 167 Nippurian cuneiform fragments preserved in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul. The material consists of epics, mythological subjects, hymns addressed either to individual deities or to royal personages, lamentation songs concerning the destruction of Sumerian and Akkadian cities, and bits of what was once apparently a quite considerable wisdom literature of a didactic or hortatory nature, in addition to the wisdom of the street, which latter sort is represented in this text edition by twelve proverbs. That the scholarly scribes of Nippur should have interested themselves to a large degree in the heroic tales of Sumer may have been occasioned by their own great divine hero, Enlil's valiant son, Ninurta, who put himself to the fore as a mighty war- and hunting god. Nippur, however, being an ecclesiastical center and unable to boast of great heroes of a more human nature, fell back on the exploits of some early dynastic kings of Uruk—a heroic triad embracing Enmerkar, son of Meskemgasher, who was believed to have ruled 420 years, his successor Lugal-banda, who supposedly ruled for 1,200 years, and Gilgamesh whose reign extended over a period of 126 years, according to the kings' lists. Dr. S. N. Kramer undertook a most laborious task in bringing the various text fragments into relation to the hitherto published material wherever this was possible, and by so doing enhanced the value of his work to a great measure. One may look with great expectancy to the author's promise of continuing the publishing of the 1,175 text fragments kept in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul.

HENRY LUDWIG FR. LUTZ

## GENERAL ARTICLES

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 O. NEUGEBAUER. History of Ancient Astronomy: Problems and Methods. *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, Jan.  
 F. W. BEARE. Books and Publication in the Ancient World. *Univ. Toronto Quar.*, Jan.  
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 RUSSELL MEIGGS. The Growth of Athenian Imperialism. *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, LXIII.  
 R. J. HOPPER. Interstate Juridical Agreements in the Athenian Empire. *Ibid.*  
 ROBERT J. BONNER and GERTRUDE SMITH. Administration of Justice in Boeotia. *Class. Philol.*, Jan.

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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 G. C. RICHARDS. Polybius of Megalopolis, the Greek Admirer of Rome. *Class. Jour.*, Feb.  
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 ANGELO SEGRÈ. The Status of the Jews in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Oct.  
 CLARENCE A. FORBES. Expanded Uses of the Greek Gymnasium. *Class. Philol.*, Jan.  
 A. M. WOODWARD. Greek History at the Renaissance. *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, LXIII.  
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 B. GORYANOV. F. I. Uspenski i Russkoe vizantinovedenie [F. I. Uspensky and Russian research in Byzantine history]. *Istoricheski zhurnal*, 1944, no. 12.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARTICLES

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## Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

COMMENTARIUS CANTABRIGIENSIS IN EPISTOLAS PAULI E SCHOLA PETRI ABAELARDI. 3. IN EPISTOLAM AD PHILIPPENSES, AD COLOSSENSES, I<sup>am</sup> ET II<sup>am</sup> AD THESSALONICENSES, I<sup>am</sup> ET II<sup>am</sup> AD TIMOTHEUM, AD TITUM ET AD PHILEMONEM. By Artur Landgraf. [Publications in Medieval Studies, The

University of Notre Dame, Editor: Philip S. Moore.] (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, 1944, pp. 447-651.)

MOLDERS OF THE MEDIEVAL MIND: THE INFLUENCE OF THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH ON THE MEDIEVAL SCHOOLMEN. By *Frank P. Cassidy*. (St. Louis, B. Herder, 1944, pp. viii, 194, \$2.00.) As the title indicates, this little book is about the patristic heritage of the Middle Ages. In surveying the first five centuries of Christian education, the author has introduced enough explanation of patristic doctrine to explain the attitude of the church toward learning and knowledge. He does this quite effectively by means of sketches of the fathers, both Greek and Latin, with indications of their religious and intellectual interest in education. Then he discusses their attitude toward pagan learning. The book, then, tells about the patristic mind, and the intellectual mold which it prepared for the medieval mind. The author does this very well because he is sympathetic with the educational aims of the fathers. Christ, "the perfect Teacher," who knew how to apply fundamental education principles, taught with authority, and so did the church. The authority was the divine knowledge revealed in the Scriptures, and the end was salvation. This the author makes very clear, but in doing so, he does not distinguish very clearly between teaching and preaching. Controversy with pagan philosophers and heretics stimulated the development of theology, which absorbed the energy of the best minds in the late empire. Literary and philosophical instruction was introduced into the catechetical schools, as training for theology needed more content and better method than the simple religious and moral instruction of which early Christian education consisted. The church borrowed from the pagan schools with intent to shape what was taken into her own intellectual mold. In philosophy, this was not too difficult, for Neo-Platonism had already ceased to pursue knowledge for its own sake. Classical literature could not be made Christian. The author shows how the fathers, most of whom had been educated in pagan schools, wrestled with this problem. As they did not solve it definitely, it passed on to disturb medieval Christians. The Roman system of education, which the author says was only a "hollow formality" after the second century, did preserve interest in classical literature, even in the patristic mind.

F. DUNCALF

ROGER WENDOVER AND MATTHEW PARIS. Being the eleventh Lecture on the David Murray Foundation in the University of Glasgow, delivered on March 9th, 1944, by *V. H. Galbraith*, Director of the Institute of Historical Research, London; formerly Professor of History, University of Edinburgh. [Glasgow University Publications, LXI.] (Glasgow, Jackson, Son and Company, 1944, pp. 48, 2s. 9d.)

LA SOCIEDAD FEUDAL: ESENCIA Y SUPERVIVENCIAS. By *Luis Weckmann*. [Colección de Estudios Jurídicos.] (México, D. F., Editorial Jus, 1944, pp. 237.) A study of feudalism in Europe, mostly during the Middle Ages.

GENERAL, INSTITUTIONAL, AND POLITICAL

J. SAGÜÉS. Esfuerzo y trascendencia de Migne: notas en un centenario. *Razón y Fe*, June, 1944.

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BERTIE WILKINSON. The Government of England during the Absence of Richard on the Third Crusade. *Bull. John Rylands Lib.*, Dec.

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## ROMAN AND CANON LAW

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- F. C. LANE. Accounting Methods in the Ledgers of Venetian Merchants. *Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud.*, LXII, no. 1, 1944.

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## Modern European History

## BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

A MISCELLANY COMPRISING POST-REFORMATION ROYAL ARMS IN NORFOLK CHURCHES; CELLARER'S ROLL, BROMHOLM PRIORY, 1415-1416; LAY SUBSIDY, 1581; ASSESSORS' CERTIFICATES FOR CERTAIN NORFOLK HUNDREDS. [Publications of the Norfolk Record Society, Volume XVII.] (Norfolk, the Society, 1944, pp. 140, £1 1s. od.)

A MIDDLEWICH CHARTULARY, COMPILED BY WILLIAM VERNON IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Edited by Joan Varley and James Tait. Part II. [Remains, Historical and Literary, Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, Volume 108, New Series.] (Manchester, printed for the Chetham Society and the Liverpool School of Local History and Records, 1944, pp. xxxviii, 219-415.) The production of this book completes the publication of William Vernon's compilation of Middlewich (county Cheshire, England) charters. The first part, edited by Mrs. Joan Varley alone, was issued by the Chetham Society and the Liverpool School of Local History and Records in 1941; it was briefly reviewed in the *American Historical Review*, XLVIII (Oct., 1942), 173. Because of the pressure of war work it has been necessary for Mrs. Varley to share the labor of preparing this volume with Professor James Tait. Her critical introduction in Part I was designed as a comment upon the entire text, but Professor Tait has added four informative studies on groups of charters which were not treated there; he has also, in addition to other editorial work, provided excellent indexes. The seventeenth century compiler has filled this portion of

his chartulary principally with transcripts of deeds, dating from around 1200 to the seventeenth century, preserved among the muniments of the leading local families, such as the Swettenhams, Blackbornes, Gerrards, and Vernons, and the Venables of Kinderton. With the deeds contained in Part I they constitute, in the words of Professor Tait, "a remarkably full register of the changes in the ownership of the Middlewich wick-houses [buildings used in the manufacture of salt] and of land both there and in the surrounding district over a period of nearly five centuries." As such the work should be welcomed by the local historian and the antiquarian, breeds which have long thrived in England. For the light which these documents throw on the society and economy of a community known for centuries as a salt-making center, they should attract a more general interest.

WILLIAM L. SACHSE

THE POPISSH PLOT: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES II. By *Sir John Pollock*, Bart., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law; Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. xxv, 379, \$5.00.) See review of earlier edition, *American Historical Review*, IX (Jan., 1904), 360.

THE STORY OF A FAMILY THROUGH ELEVEN CENTURIES: BEING A HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF GORGES. By *Raymond Gorges*. Based on material prepared by the Rev. Frederick Brown. (Boston, privately printed, 1944, pp. xxiv, 277.) Students of history have many reasons to be grateful to genealogists. Much greater is their indebtedness to one who in traveling with filial piety the long road through ten centuries of family history has the foresight to equip himself with a scholar's zeal for inquiry and who records his findings with a persistent twinkle in his eye in a style to delight an interested reader. Whenever, "down the long stream of life," he has "caught a glimpse of human personality," he has tried, he says, "to preserve . . . the fleeting fragrance of rosemary from the old garden." The widow of the late author presents the happy results of his labors in a monumental form, suitable as the memorial of her husband, for which it is intended. The book is a credit to Mr. D. B. Updike and the Merrymount Press. Professor John C. Metcalf contributes a foreword. The more distinguished members of the Gorges family flourished in the times of Queen Elizabeth, among them Sir Thomas Gorges and his wife, Hellena, Spenser's "Mansilia." Better known to students of colonial history are Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Colonel Thomas Gorges, the deputy governor of Maine.

W. T. LAPRADE

SCOTTISH DIPLOMATISTS, 1689-1789. By *D. B. Horn*. [Historical Association Publications, No. 132.] (London, published for the Association by P. S. King and Staples, 1944, pp. 18, 1s. 1d.)

DOMINION OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES FOR THE YEAR 1944. By *Gustave Lanctot*, Keeper of Public Records. (Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1945, pp. xli, 154.) The bulk of the report is a continuation of the calendar of official papers of governors, lieutenant governors, and other officials of Quebec and Lower and Upper Canada for the years 1838-39. In addition, at least three unrelated documents of interest are included: the minutes of the first meeting of the first Canadian House of Assembly (Nova Scotia, October 2, 1758), appeals to the electors of Quebec by candidates to the first parliamentary election (May, 1792), and an astonishingly bold proposal by some Massachusetts merchants in 1813 to break the blockade and deliver contraband goods by ways that would have astonished Bret Harte's "heathen Chinese."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAINTING IN CANADA, 1665-1945. Exhibition arranged by The National Gallery of Canada, Le Musée de la Province de Quebec, The Art Association of Montreal, The Art Gallery of Toronto. (Boston, Bruce Humphries, 1945, pp. 65, \$1.50.)

NEW ZEALAND AND THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER. Five lectures by J. C. Beaglehole, F. L. W. Wood, Leslie Lipson, R. O. McGechan. Edited by J. C. Beaglehole. (Wellington, N. Z., Victoria University College, 1944, pp. xx, 195, 10s. 6d.) A very valuable little book which no college library should be without. Its scope is far more than the title suggests. Although focused on constitutional problems confronting New Zealand, it surveys with admirable clarity analogous problems which involve all the British Commonwealth. The Statute of Westminster, as everyone knows, was passed by Parliament in order to repeal the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 so that the report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 might be implemented. Few, however, realize that the Colonial Laws Validity Act was a step forward in self-government rather than a reaffirmation of colonial independence. Few also are aware that the tenth section of the Statute of Westminster excepted Australia and New Zealand from the main provisions of the act until those two Dominions ratified it, which Australia did not do until 1942 and which New Zealand up to 1944 had still not done. The delay of the Pacific Dominions was due to fear of Japan. Throughout the 1930's they dreaded any further breach in empire ties, even a symbolic one. Yet failure to ratify involved New Zealand in many perplexing legal broils, for instance, her mandate over Samoa and her relations with the government of Fiji. The book introduces us to many specific problems such as these, as well as to others of more general Dominion interest. Dominion practice in foreign affairs since 1939 has been as varied as in earlier decades. Canada and South Africa, for instance, declared war on Germany but neither Australia nor New Zealand did so; Australia declared war on Japan but not New Zealand. Australia even declared war on Finland, although she had no legation at Helsinki and had to avail herself of the good offices of the United States minister. And now Australia and New Zealand have agreed to assume joint responsibility for the maintenance of peace over a vast area of the Pacific. Just how will they proceed to do this?

WALTER P. HALL

THE FEDERAL STORY: THE INNER HISTORY OF THE FEDERAL CAUSE. By Alfred Deakin. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. W. A. Watt. Edited by Herbert Brookes. (Melbourne, Robertson and Mullens, 1944, pp. xiii, 170, 12s. 6d.) This book is an altogether remarkable contribution to the story of the writing of the Australian Commonwealth Constitution. The literature of the subject is not very voluminous and any new light is sure of a hearty welcome. But here we have the reminiscences of a principal actor in the story, a man who was later three times prime minister of the commonwealth, and a man who had a definite literary flare. It is astonishing that the Australians have done so little to provide a background for their constitution, its origin and evolution. The bibliography is short and not very impressive, not as impressive, indeed, as a similar bibliography for the constitutions of South Africa or Eire would be, and certainly negligible as compared with the available material on the British North America Act. There is no collection of pertinent documents, no scholarly, candid review of the story, very few accounts by men who participated in the drafting of the document. Alfred Deakin's book is therefore a genuine windfall. Deakin died in 1919 leaving a considerable accumulation of papers which have thus far been rather jealously guarded by his family. This book is the first major publication to be drawn from the store. It has been edited by his son-in-law, Mr. Herbert Brookes—sadly under-

edited I must say. For the uncomfortable fact is that the book will be unintelligible to those who lack a prior knowledge of the story. If read along with such a formal account as that given in the "Historical Introduction" to *The Annotated Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth* by Quick and Garran (Sydney and Melbourne, 1901)—both authors played roles in the events recounted—it becomes far more meaningful. Deakin considered the book a rough draft, but loss of memory made it impossible for him to revise it in the years of his retirement. Its value is, as it stands, in the very clever personal portraits and evaluations of the participants in the several conventions. I do not know of a more entertaining gallery of portraits of men of the time. But generally speaking, the issues with which the men dealt are either not stated or mentioned so casually or obliquely as to be rather mysterious. Sometimes the issues are mentioned illustratively only and by names which do not define them at all clearly, as for instance the solitary reference to the "Braddon blot." On the other hand the book is richly supplied with valuable incidental information. This makes it an indispensable book for giving reality to events now long past. I found the account of the negotiations with Joseph Chamberlain in London particularly illuminating. If only Mr. Brookes had seen fit to supply a chronology, a list of the men mentioned with their official positions (such as is given in Quick and Garran, pp. 260–61), and foot-notes stating succinctly the issues under debate, the book would have been immeasurably improved. Someday a scholarly edition will be called for. Meanwhile this version will be studied by scholars with fascination and profit. It makes one keen to know what other treasures are in the Deakin papers. C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

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## FRANCE

SAINTE-BEUVE AUX ETATS-UNIS. By Robert G. Mahieu. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945, pp. xii, 162, \$2.50.) Irving Babbitt liked to say that the two modern Frenchmen whom it would do America the most good to understand are Renan and Sainte-Beuve. This conviction could not have been in terms of Babbitt's humanism, so extensively discussed a few years ago, since from this point of view he indicated disapproval of both of them. They do have a gift for delicate and authentic distinctions, an awareness of imponderables, a realistic lucidity, and—Renan much more than Sainte-Beuve—a charm of style that make them foremost examples of French critical genius. Renan we know was not widely read in the United States, although his *Vie de Jésus* had here as in Europe a "valeur de choc" and although

William James discussed him in a famous book, *Varieties of Religious Experience*—to express his displeasure at Renan's "later days of sweet decay." Professor Mahieu now sums up the record for Sainte-Beuve. In one respect Mr. Mahieu resembles his great critic, who would go to the very end of the earth for a single detail, "*comme un géologue maniaque pour un caillou*." There is a great accumulation of pebbles. But I am sorry to say I do not find here reflections of other qualities of the master. A long chapter on "La Fortune de Sainte-Beuve" in the United States does not get anywhere in particular. In the chapter called "Humanisme contre Dynamisme" the focal point is naturally Irving Babbitt, and Mr. Mahieu speaks of Babbitt's esteem for the Frenchman as "*le couronnement de la gloire de Sainte-Beuve et son acceptation définitive aux Etats-Unis*." But Babbitt had important reservations, as I have suggested; he even regarded Sainte-Beuve as in some ways an obstacle to his own missionary work as a humanist. The evidence of Mr. Mahieu's own book shows nothing like definitive acceptance of the critic in America and a very limited glory. It is no proof of the influence of Sainte-Beuve on Babbitt that Babbitt considered the Frenchman close to the intellectual center of the nineteenth century; the Harvard humanist intensely disliked that century and at times deeply distrusted Sainte-Beuve for being, as he alleged, the great doctor of relativity, the wandering Jew of the intellectual world. The chapter of the present volume entitled "Trois fervents admirateurs de Sainte-Beuve," on W. C. Brownell, Gamaliel Bradford and J. G. Hunecker, shows more critical judgment than the others. The final pages could be called, I am afraid, after the example of *Rasselas*, "Conclusion in which nothing is concluded." Mr. Mahieu likes to divide by two; he reports that some thought this about Sainte-Beuve and on the contrary others thought that, and there he stops. Even so this is a very complete record and Mr. Mahieu has made available virtually all the facts. There is a carefully complete index.

HORATIO SMITH

#### ARTICLES

- EDWARD F. CHANEY. A Glimpse of Villon's Paris. *Bull. John Rylands Lib.*, Dec.  
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#### NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

KLARE LINJER. By C. Sverre Norborg. (Brooklyn, Norwegian News, 1945, pp. 135, \$1.50.) This little volume is a description of the Norwegian war effort, as seen from a Norwegian-American vantage point. Activities of the Norwegian home front are outside its purview. The subjects treated most fully are the vital services of the Norwegian merchant fleet, the diligent labors of Norwegian diplomats in Washington, London, and Stockholm, and the vigilant activities of the Norwegian government's information services. The tone of the narrative, now and then rhapsodic, will help the historian to recapture something of the sense of devotion to Norway and to the United Nations



which animated the wartime activities of Norway's sons abroad. The substance of the narrative is suggestive but not comprehensive, and there are many details to be filled in before the story is adequate. Some readers may feel that the author should have devoted more space than he has to Norway's relations with Sweden and to an estimate of her relations with the Soviet Union, in view of the generous discussion given of her relations with some of the other United Nations.

WITHIN THE CIRCLE: PORTRAIT OF THE ARCTIC. By *Evelyn Stefansson*. (New York, Scribners, 1945, pp. 160, \$2.50.) About half of this well-illustrated book is devoted to chapters on the Disko community in Greenland, Grimsey Island off the north coast of Iceland, Lapland, and Kiruna and Gällivare in north Sweden.

SCHOOL FOR LIFE: A STUDY OF PEOPLE'S COLLEGES IN SWEDEN. By *F. Margaret Forster*. (London, Faber and Faber, 1944, pp. 99.)

AMERICAN-SWEDISH HANDBOOK, Volume II. The Augustana Institute of Swedish Culture. (Rock Island, Ill., Augustana Book Concern, 1945, pp. 160, \$1.25.) This is a useful reference work about individuals and associations concerned with American and Swedish affairs. The several articles of interest to the historian are appropriately listed in this issue. There is also a bibliography (pp. 115-23) of recent books and research projects in the field.

#### ARTICLES

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#### GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

*Ernst Posner*

VON BISMARCK ZU HITLER, ERINNERUNGEN UND BETRACHTUNGEN. By *Oscar Meyer*. (New York, Friedrich Krause, 1944, pp. 238, \$2.75.) In the years to come the Weimar Republic will more and more become the object of historical investigation. At the present time we may be still too close to the events to weigh the arguments *sine ira et studio*; the historical distance is still so short that most of us may either condemn too bitterly the obvious shortcomings of the German Republic or defend too leniently its sins of negligence and political immaturity. If in the meantime, until a comprehensive evaluation can be undertaken, some of the leading figures of the Weimar regime write and publish their personal recollections about "these fourteen years of disgrace" (as Hitler used to call them), the historian can only welcome such undertakings. Oscar Meyer held various public offices in Germany between 1907 and 1933; he served in the city council of Charlottenburg, in the Prussian diet,



in the German Reichstag, in the chamber of commerce, and in the twenties was one of the leaders of the Democratic party. Born in 1876, he began his political career in the imperial era, reached his climax in the Weimar Republic, and went into exile when Hitler became chancellor. His recollections reveal his intimate knowledge of the problems of the German Republic, although there is hardly anything to be found that was not known so far. What makes the book particularly interesting is the fact that it was written by a man who worked in a flight below the top floor of the Weimar structure. He had not, like Gustav Stresemann, a decisive voice in the foreign policy, nor was he, like Friedrich Stampfer, one of the key men in the domestic policy. Oscar Meyer's duties were less spectacular; he performed mostly in second-run political theaters of city administrations, diet sessions, and party caucuses. From what we read we may conclude that he was a precise official, reliable and efficient—and nothing more. Unwittingly the author betrays one of the most tragic shortcomings of the Weimar Republic: that it had dependable followers, but no inspiring, visionary leaders. It is pathetic to see the author defend with legalistic arguments the indefensible paralysis of the Weimar government towards the rising Nazi flood. It was to be expected that the whole tenor of the book is apologetic, yet, since this is almost constitutionally a defect of all memoir literature we shall not blame this author in particular. It is less pardonable, that the author did not discriminate between affairs of general interest and items of private, too private, nature. If the Nazis actually made it a point of their attack against the Republic that during "the fourteen years" social life in Berlin had declined, we see no reason to take such a ridiculous, irrelevant charge seriously; we do not believe that it justifies Meyer's lengthy enumerations of the glamorous and lovely parties in his house and his detailed descriptions of who sat next to whom. However, if we weed out all this social column gossip, there remains enough to be interesting for the historian. As a supplement to dry and dusty official documents personal recollections like these will not be without merit for a historical evaluation of the deplorably shortlived Republican experiment in German history.

DIETER CUNZ

#### ARTICLES

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*Gaudens Megaro*

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## RUSSIA AND POLAND

*Avrahm Yarmolinsky*

RUSSKIYE OTKRYTIYA V TIKHOM OKEANE I SEVERNOI AMERIKE V 18-19 VEKAKH: SBORNIK MATERIALOV [Russian discoveries in the Pacific and North America in the 18th and 19th centuries: a collection of materials]. Edited by *A. I. Andreyev*. (Moscow, Leningrad, 1944, pp. 224, 20 r.) This volume, issued under the auspices of the All-Union Geographical Society, contains the text of the following hitherto unpublished documents: the memoirs of N. I. Korobitzyn, employee of the Russian-American Company, covering the years 1795-1807; instructions, reports, and memorandums relating to the activities of the Golikov and Shelekhov Company in 1785-1790, fifteen items in all. In addition there are two reprints: the report, dated 1762, of the Cossack S. T. Ponomarev and the scout S. G. Glotov about several Aleutian Islands discovered by them, and the description of the Andreanof Islands, based on the reports of the Cossacks M. Lazarev and P. Vasutinsky, dated 1764.

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## Far Eastern History

*E. H. Pritchard*

CHINA: REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN AN ANCIENT CIVILIZATION. By *Knight Biggerstaff*, Associate Professor of Chinese History in Cornell University. [Cornell University Curriculum Series in World History, No. 4.] (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1945, pp. 78, 40 cents.)

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1943: LECTURES ON MICRONESIA, by *Luther H. Gulick*. (Honolulu, the Society, 1944, pp. 82.) These five brief lectures are reprinted from issues of a periodical *The Polynesian*. They were prepared and given in 1860-61.

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## United States History

E. C. Burnett

### GENERAL

DEBATING IN THE COLONIAL CHARTERED COLLEGES: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY, 1642 TO 1900. By *David Potter*. [Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 899.] (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944, pp. xiv, 158, \$2.35.) This book does what the author promises in his preface: it presents a historical survey of debating in nine colleges (Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth) which were chartered in the colonial period and have continued down to the present day. The work is based in the main on material drawn from (1) college reports, laws, and catalogues; (2) minutes of board and faculty meetings; (3) commencement and exhibition programs and broadsides; (4) minutes, constitutions, and records of the debate societies; and (5) contemporary textbooks, diaries, letters, and newspapers. The chapter division focuses attention upon the major types of debating: "The Syllogistic Disputation," "The Forensic Disputation," "The Literary and Debating Society," and "Intercollegiate Debating." A concluding chapter summarizes the primary facts disclosed: "(1) as early as 1642 . . . debating played an important role in the curriculum; (2) the history of debating was influenced and directed by the same forces which shaped the contemporary course of higher education and cultural growth in America; (3) there were four main currents in the history of debating up through 1900, stemming from the syllogistic disputation, the forensic disputation, the literary and debating society, and intercollegiate debating; (4) the shifts from one main current to another were initiated, at least in part, by members of the student body." The work is adequately documented. A useful bibliography is provided. There is no index. Four appendixes include illustrative material. Dr. Potter's dissertation will prove both interesting and useful to students of American history, to teachers of public speaking, and to theorists of education. This reviewer is happy to confirm the comment offered by Professor George A. Kopp in his foreword, "that we have in [this] book a reliable and conscientious synthesis of historical facts about debating which should be a part of the working knowledge of everyone concerned with the oral use of the language."

BOWER ALY

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT SOURCES, 1745-1799. *John C. Fitzpatrick*, Editor. Volumes 38 and 39, GENERAL INDEX. By *David M. Matteson*. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 485; v, 487-955, \$2.00, \$1.50 to possessors of sets of the *Writings*.) Volume 38 contains, as a frontispiece, a portrait of John C. Fitzpatrick, also a sketch of him by David M. Matteson. Volume 39 has an appendix comprising a list of letters, addresses, and memorandums.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEXT AS SHOWN IN FACSIMILES OF VARIOUS DRAFTS BY ITS AUTHOR, THOMAS JEFFERSON. By *Julian P. Boyd*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945, pp. 46, plates, \$3.50.) "This edition, which is dedicated to the general public,

is a new printing of the brochure printed for the Library of Congress by Princeton University Press upon the occasion of the Library's Bicentennial Exposition celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of Jefferson's birth."

THE WESTERN JOURNALS OF WASHINGTON IRVING. Edited and Annotated by *John Francis McDermott*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1944, pp. xiii, 201, \$3.50.) The general content of these journals, describing Washington Irving's famous excursion in 1832 into the Osage country, has long been available, not only in many excerpts from them in biographies and critical articles but in the three-volume edition published in 1919 by the Bibliophile Society under the editorship of W. P. Trent and G. S. Hellman. Yet, apart from Irving's associations in the West, it may be said that the serious inaccuracies in this text justify Mr. McDermott in offering a fresh version. I have not collated this with the original five volumes in the New York Public Library, but if one may judge from the careful detail of the volume as a whole, one will expect later students of Irving, whether or not primarily interested in him as a pioneer, to turn to this edition rather than to the Trent-Hellman text. Mr. McDermott's objective, however, was less to establish a clear text of the journal of a man of letters than to indicate more precisely the nature of this frontier area as seen through the eyes of a keen, if romantic, observer. In justice to the earlier editors it must be noted that since 1919 there has appeared a wealth of documents on the literature of western travel. These, aided by Mr. McDermott's industry, permit elaborate annotation and, in particular, a critical consideration of *four* versions of the pilgrimage: one by Charles J. Latrobe, one by Henry L. Ellsworth, and two by Irving. Of this material Latrobe's *The Rambler in North America* and Irving's *Tour on the Prairies* are, of course, old, but Ellsworth's long, narrative letter to his wife is new and so, in effect, is this now re-edited journal. The question is provocative: out of all this romance and realism to arrive at a truthful history of the journey from Cincinnati to Fort Gibson and also of the Osage country in 1832. In attacking the problem Mr. McDermott places the journal for the first time adequately against its western background. I care less for his judgment on *A Tour on the Prairies* ("blown up beyond the size") or on Irving's literary qualities, such as his "magnificence of imagination," as he calls it, but Mr. McDermott's achievement is solid: these journals, however inferior, for obvious reasons, to the European journals, take on meaning as a rare documentary history of this region of the frontier. The book is beautifully printed, and the illustrations include a useful map.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS

THE DIARY OF A PUBLIC MAN: AN INTIMATE VIEW OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION, DECEMBER 28, 1860, TO MARCH 15, 1861, AND A PAGE OF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENCE, STANTON TO BUCHANAN. Prefatory Notes by *F. Louriston Bullard*. Foreword by Carl Sandburg. (Chicago, privately printed for Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, 1945, pp. xi, 117, \$10.00.) A very real service has been done by this publication of the *Diary of a Public Man*. It first appeared unsigned in the *North American Review* in 1879. The editor of the *Review*, Allen Thorndike Rice, never revealed the authorship, in fact refused to reveal it. Since then more than one graduate seminar has been set the task of determining by internal evidence who might be the possible author of a diary full of almost too much inside information. Finding the author has so far proved a harder nut to crack than the authorship of the Junius letters. Mr. Bullard has given the reprint of the diary an interesting and intriguing introduction but he does not attempt to fix the authorship. He leaves that rather for Professor Frank Maloy Anderson, who has been following every possible clue for some years and hopes to publish his results in the not too distant



future. Professor Anderson gave a paper on the subject at the meeting of the American Historical Association in 1928.

THE FIRST BATTLE OF MODERN NAVAL HISTORY. By *Garland Evans Hopkins*, Chaplain, Army of the United States, Assistant Chaplain-in-Chief, S.C.V. (Richmond, Dietz Press, 1944, pp. 34, \$3.50.) This beautifully printed brochure published in a limited edition is an account of the battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*. The story is well told on the basis of familiar material. The main point is put in the last sentence: "Thus was ushered out the age of oak and canvas and thus was born the era of the ironclad." The author is now in active service as a chaplain in the Army.

THE UNITED STATES, 1865-1900: A SURVEY OF CURRENT LITERATURE WITH ABSTRACTS OF UNPUBLISHED DISSERTATIONS. Edited by *Curtis Wiswell Garrison*. Volume II, SEPTEMBER, 1942-DECEMBER, 1943. (Fremont, Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes-Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation, 1944, pp. vii, 453, libraries \$1.00, students and teachers 50 cents.) This second volume in the Hayes Foundation series justifies the prediction of increasing usefulness made when Volume I appeared (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIX [Apr., 1944], 540). The number of pages—Volume I having only 177—indicates a growing scope; the number of appraisers rises from 53 to 204 outstanding scholars. From now on issues will coincide with the calendar year. Works appraised are grouped in appropriate classes, such as political and constitutional, international relations, regional and state, etc. Doctoral dissertation abstracts are similarly grouped in a separate list. New features are essays by way of summary of the books in each group, written by carefully selected scholars, and a separate section on recent textbooks, general surveys, and popular histories. An editorial essay entitled "The Year's Fruit" again sets forth the aim of the series to limit appraisals to the one question of the value of works reviewed as contributions to knowledge, with the ultimate purpose of making "ever clearer what knowledge has *gained* from the yearly output." Whatever its imperfections, the present volume shows a laudable advance toward the goals set by the editors, and the series bids fair to fill a unique place in the literature of criticism.

HOMER C. HOCKETT

JOSEPH SMITH, PROPHET-STATESMAN: READINGS IN AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT. Edited by *George Homer Durham*. (Salt Lake City, Bookcraft, 1944, pp. 239, \$2.25.) "A study of the life and aims of Joseph Smith, Mormon prophet."

CAVALRYMAN OUT OF THE WEST: LIFE OF GENERAL WILLIAM CAREY BROWN. By *George Francis Brimlow*. (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1944, pp. 442, \$5.00.) The subject of this biography graduated from West Point in 1877; and for forty-one years thereafter, advancing slowly in rank from second lieutenant to colonel, he was on active duty in the Army of the United States. Many of these years were spent as a cavalryman in the West. He was a participant in the Bannock War of 1878 and other Indian conflicts, in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, and in operations against the Philippine insurgents. He commanded the 10th Cavalry on the Mexican border and in the pursuit of Villa in 1916. In 1918 he served with the AEF as inspector, Quartermaster Corps; in December of that year he was retired; in 1927 he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general on the retired list; and in 1939 he died. In his later life he interested himself in the preservation of records and in some research and writing chiefly in relation to events with which he had been associated. During most of his long life he faithfully kept a diary. This diary and his extensive



accumulation of personal papers appear to have been the chief sources from which Mr. Brimlow compiled this running narrative of General Brown's life.

PHILIP M. HAMER

BERNARD BARUCH: PARK BENCH STATESMAN. By *Carter Field*. (New York, Whittlesey House, 1944, pp. 314, \$3.00.) The volume is a highly laudatory account of Mr. Baruch's career written in the best journalistic style. In time we should have a careful and well-balanced account of a figure to whom so much influence is attributed.

CONNIE MACK, GRAND OLD MAN OF BASEBALL. By *Frederick George Lieb*. (New York, G. P. Putnam, 1945, pp. 287, \$2.75.)

THE NEW YORK HOSPITAL: A HISTORY OF THE PSYCHIATRIC SERVICE, 1771-1936. By *William Logie Russell*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 566, \$7.50.)

THE HISTORICAL COLLECTION OF THE INSURANCE COMPANY OF NORTH AMERICA. By *M. J. McCosker*. (Philadelphia, Insurance Company of North America, 1945, pp. 173.) This volume covers with excellent illustrations all types of fire fighting apparatus, firemen's costumes, early reports of fire insurance companies, pictures, and medals.

EDUCATIONAL YEARBOOK OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1944. Edited by *Isaac Leon Kandel*. (New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1944, pp. 354, \$3.70.)

DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, AND ENGRAVERS. By *Mantle Fielding*. (New York, Paul A. Struck, 1945, pp. 433, \$20.00.) A limited edition.

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AND RECORDS. Volume XIV. (Northfield, Minn., Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1944, pp. viii, 263, \$2.00.) Students of the American immigration movement have come to look forward expectantly to the appearance of each new volume of the publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association. They will not be disappointed in this one, for it is another valuable addition to the literature of what Dean Blegen has aptly called the "American transition." Like its predecessors in the series, the book is a happy combination of interpretive writing and illuminating documentary materials, selected and edited with high standards of professional competence and discrimination. Six papers dealing with various aspects of the immigrant's America are included in the volume. Kenneth Bjørk writes of the Norwegian engineers who came to the United States in considerable numbers hoping to gain experience, a fortune, and perhaps a reputation before returning to the homeland. Arlow W. Anderson contributes an enlightening analysis of the politics and ideas of the frontier editor Knud Langeland, based upon an examination of the editorials in his Norwegian newspaper *Democraten*. Exploiting archival records, Halvdan Koht recounts the efforts of United States consular officials in the Scandinavian countries to stimulate emigration to America during the War between the States. C. A. Clausen offers all the available biographical data for the Norwegian immigrants whose names appear on the passenger list of the *Emilie* on her voyage to New York in 1840. Clara Jacobson interprets the life of the immigrant clergy in her "Memories from Perry Parsonage." B. H. Narveson describes the educational ideas and purposes of the Norwegians as expressed in their Lutheran academies. Dean Blegen himself presents two selections of documentary material. One is a long letter by Johannes Johansen and Søren Bache reporting an exploratory trip to Wis-

consin in 1839; the other, a group of immigrant letters of the 1840's written by Johan R. Reiersen, several of which are here printed for the first time. Mr. Blegen is also the author of a verse translation of "The Ballad of Oleana" in which he succeeds admirably in recapturing in English something of the exuberance of the original Norwegian text:

I'm off to Oleana, I'm turning from my doorway,  
No chains for me, I'll say good-by to slavery in Norway.

CHARLES M. GATES

TOO SMALL A WORLD: THE LIFE OF FRANCESCA CABRINI. By *Theodore Maynard*. [Science and Culture Series.] (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1945, pp. 351, \$2.50.) "A biography of the first United States citizen to be elevated to sainthood, the founder of the Institute of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and ardent, efficient worker for the improvement of the lot of Italian immigrants in the United States and South America."

ONE AMERICA: THE HISTORY, CONTRIBUTIONS, AND PRESENT PROBLEMS OF OUR RACIAL AND NATIONAL MINORITIES. Edited by *Francis J. Brown*, Professor of Education, New York University, Consultant, American Council on Education, and *Joseph Slabey Roucek*, Chairman, Department of Political Science and Sociology, Hofstra College. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1945, pp. xvi, 717, \$3.75.) A revised edition of *Our Racial and National Minorities* (1937). "The editors and the individual contributors have brought the material of their chapters up to date and in several instances have entirely rewritten them. Some chapters have been eliminated or combined with others. Several of the chapters have been written by contributors other than those to the original edition and are entirely new."

#### ARTICLES

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE PHILADELPHIA BAPTIST ASSOCIATION: 1707-1940. By *Robert G. Torbet*, Church History Department, the Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary. (Philadelphia, distributed by the Baptist Book Store, 1944, pp. 247, \$3.00.) In conformity with its title this volume transcends local or parish history by giving an account of the changing social scene in which the Philadelphia Baptist Association worked. As Baptist churches are autonomous, the discussion of social movements is naturally focused on their manifestations in Philadelphia before and after the Civil War. The chapters in each period deal with temperance, education, Catholicism, and religious liberty. Before 1865 the slavery issue finds a place and after that date political and social reform, minority groups, and peace are given chapters. The author makes no claim that the association as such had any considerable influence as an organization for what was done or not done in Philadelphia between 1707 and 1940. The social historian can glean material from this account and could wish the author had given more. However, this is the history of a city church, and few similar histories yield more of general interest. The author is a professor of church history and has a wider horizon than the usual chronicler of successive pastorates.

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## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

RIVERS OF THE EASTERN SHORE: SEVENTEEN MARYLAND RIVERS. By *Hulbert Footner*. [The Rivers of America Series, edited by Hervey Allen.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1944, pp. viii, 375, \$2.50.) This is the first volume in the "Rivers of America Series" to attempt a description of a large number of rivers. The result is a history of a region, written with sympathy and designed to bring out the

character and the culture which make the Eastern Shore unlike other sections of the country. The method adopted—after a brief geographical sketch and a concise characterization of the people—is that of a south-to-north trip into each of the seventeen rivers and their branches. The towns and villages, the old homes, and the outstanding men and women all pass in review, and one acquires an impression of wandering streams and ancient houses set in an atmosphere of charm and beauty. Among the people whose careers are discussed at some length are William Claiborne, Edmund Scarburgh, Joshua Thomas (“Parson of the Islands”), the notorious Patty Cannon, Jacob Gibson, and Augustine Herman. An entire chapter is devoted to the Lloyds of Wye, and not the least interesting phase in the story of that truly dynastic family is the part dealing with the early life of Frederick Douglass as a slave on the Lloyd lands. Another chapter tells about the Tory activities of the picaroons during the Revolution and brings out the fact that the Battle of Kedge’s Straits, November 30, 1782, was two weeks after the South Carolina engagement which is generally taken to be the last bloodshed of the war—and it was an American defeat. Mr. Footner, who died soon after the publication of this book, makes an interesting point that the Chop-tank River “draws a spiritual line between the people who dwell to the south of it and those to the north.” The idea is that there has always been a spirit of non-conformity in the southern portion of the Eastern Shore. Whether or not this is true, Mr. Footner has written a work which will cause many readers to want to visit the country which he describes. The illustrations by Aaron Sopher do not add to the text, and one wishes over and over again for a real map instead of a pictorial one set on its side.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

JOURNAL OF A SOUTHERN STUDENT, 1846–48, WITH LETTERS OF A LATER PERIOD. By *Giles J. Patterson*. Biographical Note by *Henry Nelson Snyder*. Edited with an Introduction by *Richmond Croom Beatty*. (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 1944, pp. 105, \$1.75.) When Giles Patterson completed his courses at South Carolina College in 1848, he protested against some of his grades by refusing to deliver the customary commencement oration. In consequence he did not receive his diploma. Eighty-six years later, more than forty years after his death, his son redressed the grievance by obtaining the withheld degree. The editor commends this incident as epitomizing much of “the spirit of one southern tradition”; it does indeed typify Patterson’s intense seriousness. At the age of nineteen, the young man came to the college from an up-country plantation. He was older, more sober, and even more politically-minded than most of his fellow students. In consequence his account is valuable especially for its lengthy and accurate reports of Francis Lieber’s lectures on political theory. Most of his few entries on the tumultuous student life were sketchy and disapproving. He recorded only a few vivid bits, the most notable of which is a description of Webster’s visit to the campus. The journal is disappointingly short—less than thirty-two printed pages—and would fill no more than twenty pages of the document section of a historical magazine. Patterson’s letters to his nephew, written between 1883 and 1890, recommend the same type of studious, frugal, conservative course that he himself had followed. They are a logical, but not especially remarkable, sequel to the journal. The editor has appended only scanty notes, but has preceded Patterson’s writings with an introduction summarizing them and containing useful background information. He has not cited his sources, although at one point (p. 17) he quotes directly from a secondary article. Several statements are questionable. Professor Ellet did not invent gun cotton, as Patterson himself (p. 39) makes clear, nor did Lieber provide Sumner with suggestions “on a cash . . . basis” during the Civil War.

FRANK FREIDEL



**BELLE BOYD: CONFEDERATE SPY.** By *Louis A. Sigaud*, Former Lieutenant-Colonel, Military Intelligence Reserve, U. S. Army; Commanding Officer, Corps of Intelligence Police, A.E.F. in World War I. (Richmond, Dietz Press, 1945, pp. xii, 254, \$3.00.) Belle Boyd has been much maligned. Mr. Sigaud confesses his purpose "to champion" the Confederate spy by telling her story together with supporting evidence from sources now available. In this purpose Mr. Sigaud summons a host of witnesses to prove her a real figure of history and to show *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* a record distinguished for accuracy in uncommon degree. At the same time his argument gives evidence of a most commendable and thorough search for materials in out-of-the-way places as well as in the obvious sources. We note several minor errors. On page 7, the quotation should be "truest people in the South." Belle could hardly have taunted the returning soldiers "after" Second Manassas (p. 93), for she was boarding the *Juniata* and descending the Potomac while the battle was in progress. Nor is it likely that she found McClellan's "soldiers preparing for a drive on Richmond" (p. 102). Part of his troops had been beaten at Manassas but a few hours before. Although we are told that Belle received flattering greetings from "everyone" (p. 103), it may be of interest that J. B. Jones did not mention her when he wrote his diary for September. In the opinion of this reviewer, Mr. Sigaud has presented his case, established the character of his client, and written a delightful and instructive biography.

THEODORE M. WHITFIELD

**FLORIDA DURING THE TERRITORIAL DAYS.** By *Sidney Walter Martin*, Associate Professor of History, the University of Georgia. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1944, pp. ix, 308, \$3.00.) The present study by Sidney Walter Martin is another important contribution to the growing list of works relating to the history of the southeastern region, and deserves the careful attention of all interested in this phase of our national development. As the title suggests, the book deals primarily with the American territorial period in Florida, from 1821 to 1845. In addition, there is an opening chapter, wherein Dr. Martin reviews the events after 1810 leading to the treaty of purchase and its aftermath. A topical arrangement is used. Following the story of the acquisition of this territory, the author presents such subjects as "New Life on Old Soil," "The Question of the Lands," "Frontier Towns," and "Beginnings of Protestant Religion," as well as discussions of the governorships of Duvall and Call, the Seminole Indian problem, and the coming of statehood in 1845. The book is well documented and is attractive in format and style. A satisfactory bibliography and index, as well as maps and other illustrations, add also to its general value. Possibly the most apparent shortcoming is the author's failure to include certain background materials that might have greatly aided the reader to understand territorial Florida. Why, for instance, should the study begin abruptly with a discussion of Madison's assertion in 1810 of claim to the district between the Mississippi and Perdido rivers, to the disregard of the earlier story of Spanish-American relationships affecting Florida? Moreover, why omit evaluation for the most part of the many influences upon this region resulting from more than two centuries and a half of Spanish and English occupation? Of these only the matter of Spanish land claims has received more than incidental treatment.

VERNE E. CHATELAIN

**DEEP DELTA COUNTRY.** By *Harnett T. Kane*. [American Folkways, edited by Erskine Caldwell.] (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944, pp. xx, 283, \$3.00.) This volume is a worthy companion to the author's *Bayous of Louisiana*. The shifting banks of the Mississippi below New Orleans form its locale. Its population, to which French peasants gave an original and still prevalent bias, later received Dalma



tian, Italian, and Irish contingents, together with more pretentious sugar barons and their negro slaves, fruit growers, river pilots, and oil and sulphur prospectors. For the most part these denizens drew a humble livelihood from bayou and river, supplemented by garden patch, muskrat trap, oyster reef, and fruit orchard. Living "one foot on the land and one in the water" on alluvial soil built up by the mighty river and affording at best but a precarious and restricted foothold, still subject to its freakish currents and the unpredictable hurricanes and high water of the nearby gulf, life in the "Deep Delta" would seem to offer few compensations to its laborious if not thriving population. Yet the author has found among these simple people the materials for a compelling narrative. Only a sympathetic understanding of their pleasures and problems, their folkways and present living conditions, based on actual experience, wide research, and thorough good will has enabled the author to produce this book. It is history of a commendably popular kind; it is likewise sociology and economics, present politics, dreams of past grandeur and visions of future industrial growth, clearcut pictures of notable military campaigns, and sketches of historic personages that have given color to the lower Mississippi. Among the personalia one misses the notorious general and the dubious governor of the transfer period, but picaroons and pirates receive due, if not flattering, attention. One likewise fails to find any reference to the famous silver spoons, while Benjamin, Beauregard, and even Warmoth receive just appraisal. Of more human interest are the fascinating sketches of two priests who have served in Delta parishes and of the big "Little Doctor." About a third of the book may be regarded as supplementing accepted "history"; the rest treats of life in an unfamiliar setting. For the skill and charm with which Mr. Kane presents this we are duly grateful.

ISAAC J. COX

ONE HUNDRED GREAT YEARS: THE STORY OF THE *TIMES-PICAYUNE* FROM ITS FOUNDING TO 1940. By *Thomas Ewing Dabney*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1944, pp. xii, 552, \$4.00.) The years from 1837 to 1940 were undoubtedly great years in New Orleans as elsewhere in these United States, and the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, in honor of whose hundredth anniversary this volume was written, is undoubtedly a sturdy and successful newspaper. But Mr. Thomas Ewing Dabney's book doesn't give the casual reader any too clear an idea why the old *Picayune* survived until the *Times* took it over or the explanation of the changes in the famed Crescent City. One would have to be an old resident of New Orleans to understand the undertones and allusions. Particularly lacking is any demonstration that the newspaper whose tergiversations thread through the century made any major contribution to the development of culture, the creation of informed public opinion, or the social development in a city whose grace hides an appallingly low average income, and whose politics were once worse than those of Philadelphia's gas house ring. There are, of course, offsetting merits. Some of the episodes fished from the files are deliciously flavored with the quaint customs and odd attitudes of the fifties, when Pierre Soule and John Slidell fought for power. Also novel are some of the observations about New Orleans under reconstruction, with the extreme conduct of radical General Sheridan, the riots, the election steals, and the bargain of '76. These redeem somewhat a book which concentrates on the *haute monde* and overjustifies local prejudices. It is a bit startling to come across, as though it were an altogether proper statement, the remark that "Except among interests which had long been hostile to New Orleans and the South, the necessity of lynching was generally recognized." This is not caviar for the general but lagniappe for the mob. One wonders if the yellowing files in which the author burrowed really lacked any integrating principle by which the saga of the languorous city could be presented.

Probably the very variety of this potpourri of faded glory and forgotten gore had a fatal fascination for the researcher. At any event, the net impression this reviewer got from the volume was of an author so overpowered by his source material that he poured his notes into print without the organization essential to persuasive presentation. Hard writing makes easy reading, and enthusiasm is no substitute for care.

GEORGE FORT MILTON

SIGNERS OF THE TEXAS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. By *Louis Wiltz Kemp*. (Houston, Anson Jones Press, 1944, pp. 456, \$10.00.) A limited signed edition.

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#### WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

NATIVISM IN KENTUCKY TO 1860. By *Sister Agnes Geraldine McGann* of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Nazareth, Kentucky. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1944, pp. xi, 172.) Nativism in Kentucky to 1860 is a fascinating subject which has been too long neglected by local historians. Behind this movement were strong negative forces which opposed foreigners, Catholics, and antislavery advocates. Sister Agnes Geraldine McGann has developed her subject from the viewpoint of a group which suffered persecution by this nativistic upheaval. She has had access to a rather large volume of material, Catholic and otherwise, and she has used most of it to a fairly satisfactory advantage. It is unfortunate that a large volume of other materials was not available to her because of war conditions. Too much of her study originates from sources which were as strongly partisan as were those favoring nativism. It has not always been easy for the author to stand off and view her subject with complete objectivity. There is no doubt that the antiforeign and anti-Catholic sentiment in Kentucky in the nineteenth century was groundless, but at the same time there was some reason why many Kentuckians were disturbed. The political situation in Kentucky in the forties and fifties was none too happy. Major domestic issues were demanding serious attention. In 1849 a constitutional convention was in session which was forced to deal with questions of representation, slavery, antislavery agitation, education, and the curbing of an irresponsible legislative practice of enacting volumes of personal legislation. The *Proceedings* of this convention is a remarkable volume reflecting much of the political and social indecisiveness of the period in which nativism flourished. Finally political leadership in the state was on the verge of change. Back of the Know-Nothing movement, and the discriminatory attitudes in predominantly Protestant Kentucky toward foreigners and Catholics was a strong self-satisfied provincial feeling that native Kentuckians were people especially chosen to enjoy the fruits of their fertile land. This smug state of mind in this rural state was a substantial factor in the nativistic movement. This significant background subject, however, is not brought fully into focus in this first attempt to present the story of nativism. The author has made her soundest contribution in the chapters dealing with the "Know-Nothing Movement" and "A Bloody Election." There is a bibliography and an index.

THOMAS D. CLARK

CHARLES SCHREINER, GENERAL MERCHANDISE: THE STORY OF A COUNTRY STORE. By *J. Evetts Haley*. (Austin, Texas State Historical Association, 1944, pp. x, 70, \$3.50.)

PAPERS IN ILLINOIS HISTORY AND TRANSACTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1942.

Edited by *Paul M. Angle*. (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Society; printed by authority of the state of Illinois, Dwight H. Green, Governor, 1944, pp. vii, 115.)

This thin volume contains four essays of merit touching a critical estimate of Abraham Lincoln, politics and education in Illinois during the middle years of the last century, and certain aspects of social and economic life in the same period. Avery Craven, in his essay "Southern Attitudes toward Abraham Lincoln," traces the evolution of Southern opinion from the emergence of Lincoln on the national political horizon down to the present time and suggests that the present generation of Southerners, although critical of Lincoln's position prior to the Civil War, now accept him as one of the nation's great leaders. Ernest G. Hildner's "Colleges and College Life One Hundred Years Ago" embodies a comparative survey of collegiate education in the state from 1828 to 1850, in which is disclosed a general popular hostility to the establishment of colleges in a period when no provision was made for public elementary schools. The fusion political movement leading to the establishment of the Republican party is meticulously analyzed by Mildred C. Stoler in her "The Democratic Element in the New Republican Party in Illinois, 1856-1860." Much new light is thrown on that complicated period in Illinois history. Alice Felt Tyler's "A New England Family on the Illinois Frontier" is an account of the settlement of a New England couple in western Illinois, based on family letters of a century ago. The genealogical importance of this paper is outweighed by the contribution it makes to social and economic history.

CLARENCE E. CARTER

GROWING UP WITH CHICAGO. By *Carter H. Harrison*. (Chicago, Ralph F. Seymour, 1944, pp. 368, \$3.50.)

ARTIST IN IOWA: A LIFE OF GRANT WOOD. By *Darrell Garwood*. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1944, pp. 259, \$3.50.) Regardless of the critics' opinions of Grant Wood's art, this book is an important document of the history of American culture during the depression years, 1930-1940. In its simple, straightforward, consciously naive, and deliberate art-is-for-everyone style, it relates the painfully banal details that are crystallized in a succession of paintings, from the double portrait of a straw-haired woman and a collarless dentist holding a pitchfork (known to the world as "American Gothic") to an uncomfortably naked portrait of a featherless pet rooster, who died from strangulation after having swallowed a rubber cigarette ("Adolescence"). These works rank among the best-known and popularly appreciated of their time. The book contains a great deal of information about the artist's life, his background, his patrons and public, the motivation and subjects of his pictures, and his methods of working. It is told without humor, drama, or aesthetic judgment in a style that has much the same mechanical equilibrium and obviously human-interest detail so characteristic of Grant Wood's painting. To the historian who is interested in the cultural development of modern America, this information is extremely valuable. It shows the peculiar phenomenon of Main Street in action when a local artist, whose satires of the bigoted and self-righteous farmers and small townspeople became the most talked-of paintings in the Century of Progress World's Fair, was established within a few years as the focal point of a cultural boom that enveloped local businessmen, Rotary clubs, Hollywood movie stars, the state university, and even national foundations in the great enterprise of producing an indigenous American art. It is unfortunate that there are

only nine illustrations included, though an incomplete catalogue of "important" paintings lists some seventy-two. Most of the information seems to have been based on the author's many and intimate contacts with the artist, his relatives, and his friends, but there are many quotations attributed to the "art critics," "the newspapers," "the faculty," which might have more meaning if documented. As it is, one suspects they are based not on the author's factual knowledge of the sources but on the artist's impressions of these vague ogres who opposed him and his artistic principles. There is no attempt at critical evaluation of the artist's work nor is there any perceptible consciousness of the historical or social problems with which the work of Grant Wood has become associated. That task must be done by the reader. This book proves what many art students have long suspected from the paintings, namely that Grant Wood was never a part of the formative forces which gave that decade its distinctive character. Rather he was a mirror—one might better say an adhesive—which caught fleeting fragments of the great ideas as they thundered past him.

LAURENCE SCHMECKEBIER

THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS: CUMULATIVE INDEX, Volumes I-XI, 1903-1942, D-H. Edited by *Ruth A. Gallaher*. (Iowa City, 1945, pp. 176.)

GUIDE TO THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Edited by *Alice E. Smith*. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1944, pp. xiv, 290, \$2.50.) The *Guide to Manuscripts* is the second volume on manuscripts of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The *Descriptive List of Manuscripts* (still in print) published by the society in 1906 included among the numerous and invaluable collections then listed the well-known Draper Collection on early western history. The *Guide* does not reproduce the *Descriptive List* but is an extension of it to include the collections to 1940. The two volumes cover the manuscripts that are owned by the Wisconsin society but do not include collections on loan or deposit. Thus manuscripts merely deposited with the society may miss the attention of scholars from want of published custody. Also omitted from the list are collections with fewer than eleven items. The *Guide* has listed 802 collections. These vary from a few items to voluminous collections. The "Green Bay and Prairie Du Chien Papers 1774-1895" are bound in 123 volumes. The John R. Commons collection on "Labor and Socialism" occupies 130 boxes and 85 volumes. Many of the collections represent individuals; others are the records of churches, government departments, business firms, voluntary societies, conventions, photostats from foreign archives, etc. The description of each collection gives the dates, number of items if less than 100, boxes and volumes, the character of the material, important personages concerned, and any restrictions placed upon the use of the collection. These descriptions are brief and well done. The best title for some collections is problematic. For example the "Labor and Socialism" collection could as well have been "John R. Commons Papers" for my generation. The excellent index of 55 pages carries both titles. The *Guide* offers impressive evidence of the great archive of historical materials that the Wisconsin society has gathered. The titles and descriptions indicate the excellent selections and remarkable success in finding the manuscripts of high historical value. No one can deny that the spirit of Lyman Draper has survived in Wisconsin.

J. L. SELLERS

THE TEN GRANDMOTHERS. By *Alice Marriott*. [The Civilization of the American Indian, Volume XXVI.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1945, pp. xiv, 306, \$3.00.) This volume is the story of the little-known Kiowa Indians, one of the last of the plains tribes to be subjugated. It is told in a manner calculated to please both scholars and the lay public in that it is made up of a series of events from camp life,

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## Latin-American History

John J. Johnson

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## COLONIAL PERIOD

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\* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

American Historical Association

At its meeting in Chicago the Council of the Association elected ten foreign scholars as honorary members. One of those selected was Johan Huizinga, professor of history in the University of Leiden. As he was in German occupied territory, it was thought advisable not to communicate with him and thus direct hostile attention to him. News came on March 23 that Professor Huizinga had died at the age of seventy-two. Early in the German occupation of Holland he was seized and held as a hostage in St. Michielsgestel. Report came later that he had been released, but there was scant word of him or his whereabouts until the news of his death. In 1941 he spoke in Amsterdam on the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Academy of Sciences and deplored the excessive German influence on Dutch science. One could add to the brief statement in the April issue (p. 661) a further list of honors and publications. This is hardly necessary. Professor Huizinga was the leading Dutch historian. His readers, students, and influence extended far beyond his own country. It is a matter of regret that the Association's tribute never reached him.

At its meeting in December, 1944, the Council accepted the sponsorship and administration of a prize in the amount of \$500 to be given triennially by the Watumull Foundation for the best book on India published in the United States. The following committee has been appointed to make the award, to be given at Christmas time: Professor Taraknath Das of the College of the City of New York, chairman, and Professors Harry J. Carman and Robert L. Schuyler of Columbia University. The award this year will be to the best book published in the years 1940-1944 inclusive. Publishers submitting books should send them to the Committee on the Watumull Prize, 614 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

*Guide to the American Historical Review, 1895-1945: A Subject-classified Explanatory Bibliography of the Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents* will be part two of Volume I of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1944. This digest of all the articles, etc., in the past fifty years of the *Review* has been prepared by Professor Franklin D. Scott of Northwestern University. The *Guide* will go to the members whose names are on the restricted list allowed by our printing appropriation. That means about two thousand. It would seem, however, that many more members would want the *Guide* for the aid it will give in locating articles that have appeared in various fields. The executive secretary will seek to have reprints made and sold through the superintendent of documents. He will be glad to receive a postal card expressing interest in the

*Guide* as a government document. The sale price will be modest and fixed to cover costs only. An expression of interest now will not be an order but it will help in getting enough reprints struck off before type is distributed.

The University of Pennsylvania Press has announced that the first printing of the volume by Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915*, sponsored by the committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund, is out of print. They have, however, a second printing in press and hope to have the volume available for sale before this issue of the *Review* is out.

The War Department has cleared the way for the Government Printing Office to reprint and supply to civilians the discussion pamphlets prepared for the Army by the Historical Service Board. It is safe to say that rarely within the same compass has better material of an objective character, weighing the pros and cons of public questions, been available for all citizens. The pamphlets embody scholarship presented in a simple, popular style with illustrations and graphs. Schools, study clubs, libraries, and discussion groups as well as individuals will find them invaluable. Some large organizations have already placed orders for bulk quantities. Orders should designate pamphlets by title, not by number, and should be addressed to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. The price for single copies will be ten cents. The titles of the pamphlets printed up to June 1 are as follows: (1) *Can War Marriages Be Made To Work?* (2) *Do You Want Your Wife To Work after the War?* (3) *Guide for Discussion Leaders.* (4) *Will the French Republic Live Again?* (5) *What Is Propaganda?* (6) *Our British Ally.* (7) *What Shall Be Done with the War Criminals?* (8) *What Shall Be Done about Germany after the War?* (9) *What Has Alaska To Offer Postwar Pioneers?* (10) *Our Chinese Ally.* (11) *Can We Prevent Future Wars?* (12) *The Balkans: Many Peoples, Many Problems.* (13) *Will There Be Work for All?* (14) *Shall I Build a House after the War?* (15) *Australia: Our Neighbor "Down Under."* (16) *Why Co-ops? What Are They? How Do They Work?* (17) *What Future for the Islands of the Pacific?* (18) *What Will Your Town Be Like?* (19) *Our Russian Ally.* (20) *How Shall Lend-Lease Accounts Be Settled?* (21) *Is the Good Neighbor Policy a Success?* (22) *Does It Pay to Borrow?* (23) *What Lies Ahead for the Philippines?* (24) *Shall I Take Up Farming?*

## Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: typescript copy of the "Records of the Manor of Marcle Audleys (Hellens) Herefordshire from 1574"; four additional boxes of papers of the Biddle family of Philadelphia, 1734 to 1933; one volume of papers of John David Woelpper,

1763 to 1810; two volumes of accounts of John Norton & Sons, merchants of London and Virginia, 1764 to 1784; seventeen reels (negative and positive) of microfilms of Thomas Jefferson materials (original manuscripts in libraries of Charlottesville, Richmond, and Williamsburg, Virginia), 1769 to 1850; seventy-one additional papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss, 1788 to 1901; letter from James Madison to Richard Peters, August 19, 1789; negative photostats of two letters of George Washington, March 6, 1795, and March 5, 1799; one hundred and eighty-five papers of Thomas Truxtun, 1795 to 1820; forty-seven manuscripts pertaining to American commerce, China, 1805 to 1819; one volume of the "Proceedings of the Tammany Society of Washington City," August 1, 1807, to June 1, 1810; eight additional boxes of papers (1811 to 1935) of Robert Green Ingersoll; five volumes of account books and other records of papers of the American sculptor, Henry Kirke Brown, 1817 to 1857; four volumes of copies of the diplomatic correspondence (American legation, London) of Albert Gallatin and William Beach Lawrence, May 3, 1826, to February 3, 1830; nine way bills of stage coach lines from Washington, D. C., 1836 to 1837; one hundred and eighty-four pieces, chiefly mercantile papers of Willard P. Phillips, 1837-1887; seven account books, day books, and ledgers of Hiram Sylvester, Hampden Corner, Maine, 1839 to 1879; one hundred and fourteen pieces of papers of Wendell Phillips, 1843 to 1884; thirty-three papers of Charles Sumner, 1847 to 1874; thirty additional papers of Hamilton Fish, 1849 to 1891; seventeen boxes of the papers of Oscar Solomon Straus, *ca.* 1856 to 1926; four boxes of papers of Thomas Lake Harris, *ca.* 1858 to 1892; diary (number 13) of Bushrod W. Hunter, of Virginia, January 4 to April 25, 1861; facsimile of a letter of Abraham Lincoln to John Hanks, January 28, 1861; one-volume diary of Patrick Ryan, Union soldier, May 30, 1862, to June 3, 1865; letterpress copybook of letters from Camp Chase, Ohio, to the Judge Advocate, September 1, 1862, to June 10, 1863; four account books, journals, and day books of Jesse C. Rines, Hampden Corner, Maine, 1863 to 1889; forty additional papers of Walt Whitman, 1863 to 1891, and one volume of "Manuscripts of Walt Whitman in Poetry and Prose belonging mainly to the Civil War Period"; additional papers of the Breckinridge family, 1863 to 1894; letter from Alexander H. Stephens to James L. Stevens, March 21, 1869; letter from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow to Baroness Josephine Knorr, March 8, 1874; five letters from James Fitzpatrick Muirhead to J. B. Wekerton, 1875 to 1876; twenty-three additional papers of the John Meredith Read family, 1875 to 1901; additional papers of Booker T. Washington, 1885 to 1904; memorandum book of Charles Henry McManaway, Confederate soldier, Bedford, Virginia, *ca.* 1878 to 1896; eighteen additional papers of the Gridiron Club of Washington, D. C., 1885 to 1908; forty-one volumes of papers of Major General James Guthrie Harbord, 1886 to 1938; three letters of Bret Harte to Antoinette Sterling Mackinlay, 1887 to 1898; additional papers of Waldo Lee McAtee; one box of additional papers of the Riggs family, *ca.* 1896 to 1928; letter from Alvaro de la Iglesia y

Santos, November 10, 1898; nineteen pieces from the papers of Charles Townsend Copeland, 1898 to 1926; letter from John Townsend Trowbridge to Houghton Mifflin & Co., September 19, 1903, with copy of "A Boy's Adventure at Niagara Falls"; forty-six additional papers of Woodrow Wilson, principally letters to George Harvey, 1906 to 1925; fifty-one pieces from the papers of Emma L. George, 1915 to 1920; one volume of the papers of the Society of Guardians of Liberty, Washington, D. C., July 3, 1916, to January 23, 1917; additional papers of Mrs. James M. Helm, relating to social functions of the White House, 1942 to 1945; "Statement of I. J. Dunn of Omaha, Nebraska, with Reference to the Democratic National Convention Held at Baltimore, Md. in 1912," January 1, 1945; manuscript of "Das Gesetz" by Thomas Mann; two additional papers of the Richmond P. Hobson collection, including Mrs. Hobson's notes on the life of "Rear Admiral Richmond P. Hobson, United States Navy"; and typescript copy of "La Fundación Hispanica de Washington," by Mauricio Fresco.

The Library of Congress has received as a gift from Mr. Barney Balaban one of the original engrossed copies of the twelve amendments to the Constitution of the United States approved by Congress in 1789 and sent to the states for ratification; ten of these amendments were ratified by the states and thus became the first ten amendments, popularly known as the "Bill of Rights." To Mr. Balaban the library is indebted also for the gift of the telegram, in the autograph of President Lincoln, which the President sent to General McClellan at four A.M. on September 12, 1862, when the Confederate army under General Lee had crossed the Potomac and invaded Maryland. The message asks, "How does it look now?"

The Tenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1943-44, just issued, measures the slender resources of the National Archives against the stupendous records problem of the government and finds them wanting. As time and staff permitted in the fiscal year 1943-44, emphasis was placed on encouraging better management of the 17,000,000 cubic feet of Federal records estimated to be in existence, on facilitating the disposal of records no longer of value, and on accessioning those of value, as the result of which there were in the National Archives on June 30, 1944, about 650,000 cubic feet of records. With inadequate appropriations, however, the agency's program had to be a makeshift one, and little could be accomplished except to plan what ought to be done to cope with the impending deluge of records from liquidated war agencies. To conserve paper and funds the annual report was not printed and it will not be available for general distribution until it is published after the war.

On May 4, the National Archives opened an exhibit, "President Roosevelt and International Cooperation for War and Peace," which will remain on display until early in September. The original Yalta agreements, signed by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, the Declaration of the United Nations, corrected drafts of the Declaration of the Three Powers issued at Teheran, a slip of paper on which is recorded

the agreement of the combined staffs to launch the Normandy invasion, a model of the artificial port constructed in England and towed across the Channel for use in that invasion, and gifts to President Roosevelt from heads of state are among the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library materials and Federal records featured. A limited number of catalogs of the exhibit are available upon request.

Recent additions to the group designated "Records of the United States Senate" in the National Archives include certain records of the seventy-fifth and seventy-sixth Congresses, 1937-42, and papers accompanying bills and resolutions of the sixty-ninth and seventieth Congresses; original manuscripts of Senate journals, documents, and reports of the sixty-ninth to the seventy-eighth Congress, 1926-44; and records of the special committees to investigate the munitions industry, 1934-38, lobbying activities, 1935-38, and the national defense program (Truman Committee), 1941-44. Among other records recently received are the population schedules of the censuses of 1880, 1910, and 1930 (restricted); records of the Kennebec (Maine) Arsenal, 1835-95; and records of the German division of the American embassy, London, England, 1914-17, which pertain to the protection of the interests of the German government and its nationals.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has recently received sections of Mr. Roosevelt's White House files for the years 1933-44, photographs of persons and of events connected with the present war, a number of currently published books, pamphlets, and posters having to do with the war, and a variety of museum objects and war relics. The White House papers consist largely of abstracts and copies of letters to Mr. Roosevelt asking for information about, or containing pleas for assistance from, government relief and lending agencies (1937-40); letters and petitions urging the designation of a day of prayer to end the war (1942-43); letters supporting or opposing a fourth term (1940-44); communications inspired by presidential addresses made from October 12, 1942, to December 24, 1944; invitations, holiday and birthday greetings, and letters concerning gifts (1933-44); schedules of Mr. Roosevelt's daily White House engagements for his first three terms; and official transcripts of his addresses and press conferences for 1944. Among the photographs received are fifty-three portraits of civil and military leaders of the United Nations, sixty-one Signal Corps photographs of the early stages of the Normandy invasion, and a number of recently made press photographs of Mr. Roosevelt. The war relics, gifts from members of the armed forces and from inhabitants of liberated areas, are of great variety, ranging from captured Nazi and Italian flags and weapons to a ceremonial Kava bowl from the "High Talking Chief" of the Samoan Islands.

President Roosevelt's intimate association with the library that bears his name continued until shortly before his death; he visited it a number of times in the course of his last stay at Hyde Park, March 25-29. He regarded the library as a retreat, where he could work undisturbed on his collections of first editions, naval



manuscripts, stamps, and prints. Here he was the bibliophile, the philatelist, the collector, and the appearance of his room as he left it for the last time—with books and photographs piled on chairs and tables and pictures and print cases everywhere—was compellingly suggestive of the things that he loved but had little time to enjoy.

Mr. Roosevelt interested himself in many details of the library: in the work of the staff, the physical maintenance of the building and grounds, the arranging of displays, particularly of ship models and naval pictures, and, of course, the enrichment of the collections. The books, manuscripts, and other materials that he gave to the library derived added interest from the annotations and reminiscences with which he accompanied them, sometimes in the form of written memorandums, sometimes orally to members of the staff. His association with the library not only left the stamp of his personality upon it; it also created a fund of biographical source material quite apart from the collections themselves.

President Roosevelt's death on April 12 meant the loss not only of a maker of history but of one long deeply interested in its records and writing.

Two important groups of letters by Benjamin Franklin have recently been acquired by the library of the American Philosophical Society. One group consists of thirty-three hitherto unknown A.L.S. letters by Franklin to Pennsylvania's colonial agent, Richard Jackson, M.P., whom Dr. Johnson described as the "all-knowing." Most of them were written from Philadelphia during the crucial years 1762-64. In the main, the letters relate to colonial questions and issues on which there has been relatively little in Franklin's other correspondence for this period, questions such as taxation and the Stamp Act, the bitter disputes over the arbitrary demands of the proprietors, the Indian insurrections and the difficulty of getting united action by the colonies, the riotous frontiersmen in the march on Philadelphia—intent on massacring the Indians—statistics on population, the desire of many people to move westward, and Franklin's proposal for the establishment of colonies on the Mississippi, in Nova Scotia, and Quebec. The second group consists of fifty-five letters from Franklin to his favorite sister, Jane (Mecom). Added to the letters of Jane to Franklin which the library already had, they constitute an unbroken private correspondence over a period of more than sixty years. Franklin's first letter to Jane, not, however, in this collection, was written on his twenty-first birthday; and on August 3, 1789, some months before he died, he modestly and with a kindly touch of humor wrote: "The word Excellency does not belong to me and Doctor will be sufficient to distinguish me from my Grandson." Apart from the revelations of the altogether charming relations between Franklin and

his sister and the many matters concerning the Franklin family, like the Franklin genealogy, these letters frequently have important bearing on political developments and Franklin's participation in them. This is particularly true of those of the letters written from London just before the outbreak of the American Revolution, those from Philadelphia in 1775, and those from France in the decade between 1776 and 1785.

Among notable accessions to the manuscript division of the New York Public Library during 1944 is the correspondence of Newton D. Baker with Thomas J. Howells, 1914-37; the letters of Warren G. Harding to the manager of the *Marion Star*, 1917-20; and additional papers of William J. Wilgus, the railroad executive. This last group of papers has much material bearing on the transport to France of the AEF (1917-19).

The Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, has just received, through Judge Louis C. Crampton, the papers of General George Owen Squier. The collection comprises letters, West Point notebooks, Johns Hopkins notebooks, journals, and other miscellaneous manuscripts which promise to be valuable biographical source materials for this army officer and inventor. Other acquisitions obtained earlier in the year are additions to the Mortimer E. Cooley Collection, additional Peter White correspondence, and the Korean correspondence of the J. M. B. Sill family, deposited by Miss Mary Cram, the former ambassador's granddaughter.

The University of Florida announces the establishment of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Its foundation is the collection of Floridiana brought together during the past forty years by Philip Keyes Yonge and his son, Julien C. Yonge, of Pensacola, Florida. This collection, the most comprehensive and valuable in the state, comprising rare books, maps, manuscripts, newspaper files of the last century, documents, and other records, all relating to Florida, has been generously presented to the university by Julien C. Yonge as a memorial to his father, who for more than two decades was chairman of the Board of Control of the Institutions of Higher Learning of Florida.

The Virginia World War II History Commission at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, has issued a pamphlet on the collecting and preservation of local war records entitled *Your Community's War History*.

The Free Library of Philadelphia announces the appointment of an assistant librarian in charge of research. Under arrangements concluded during the past year, the Free Library has become librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Ridgway Library, while the Mercantile Library has become one of the branches of the public system. The research librarian will deal with the collections of all these institutions. Research materials, both printed books and manuscripts, will be studied with a view to making them better known to scholars

in American history, government, and literature. J. H. Powell, of the department of history of the University of Delaware, has been named to the position, and will begin his work about August 1.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin will issue a series of biographies of important Wisconsin men and women in all walks of life. Dr. E. P. Alexander, director and editor of the society, is being assisted by an editorial board, and the writing of the books is being contracted for as rapidly as competent authors can be found for them. The society hopes to begin issuing the books in 1948, the state's centennial year.

The Texas State Historical Association has issued a tentative list of 12,605 subjects to be covered in a proposed handbook of Texas. A few pages of sample articles and an explanatory note by the editor-in-chief, Professor Walter P. Webb, preface the list. The whole plan is ambitious but feasible and wholly praiseworthy. It is to be hoped the proposal and call for co-operation will meet with a hearty response. The chairman of the publication committee is Professor Eugene C. Barker.

A commission of five writers, including Marquis James and Allan Nevins, has been appointed to guide and counsel Thomas M. Owen, jr., chief of the division of veterans' records in the National Archives, in writing a new history of the American Legion.

The following Guggenheim fellowships for 1945-46 have been awarded for research in historical and related subjects: Richard Gordon Lillard, Indiana University, a book depicting and analyzing the part played in American history by the forest between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River; Merrill Jensen, University of Wisconsin, the preparation of a history of the United States during the confederation period, 1781-89; William Clement Eaton, Lafayette College, a study of liberalism in the New South, 1865-1929; Paul Henry Giddens, Allegheny College, a study of the growth of the petroleum industry in the United States, 1870-95; Henry F. Pringle, Washington, D. C., the preparation of a history of the second World War on the home front as well as the military front (this is the second Guggenheim fellowship awarded to Mr. Pringle); Marie Kimball, Charlottesville, Virginia, a life of Thomas Jefferson for the period 1776-89, including his governorship of Virginia and his ministry to France; Ralph Leslie Rusk, Columbia University, a life of Ralph Waldo Emerson; Frederick Pottle, Yale University, a life of James Boswell; Jacques Barzun, Columbia University, a life of the French composer, Hector Berlioz; Alrik Gustafson, University of Minnesota, a biography of Auguste Strindberg, Swedish dramatist; Mary Hatch Marshall, Colby College, a history of the medieval religious plays of France, Germany, and England, exclusive of the saints plays; Thomas Robert Shannon Broughton, Bryn Mawr College, the preparation of an annual list of the magis-

trates of the Roman Republic, including minor officials and the members of the priestly colleges; Benjamin N. Nelson, New York City, studies of the relations between conscience and casuistry in the moral philosophy and law of the later Middle Ages (12th-16th centuries); Hans Rosenberg, Brooklyn College, a book to be entitled "The Prusso-German Junkers: A History of a Social Class."

Among the post-service fellowships granted by the Guggenheim Foundation are the following: Richard P. Stebbins, Washington, D. C., a historical study of art patronage; Lieutenant Commander Lawrance Thompson, Princeton University Library, a biography of Robert Frost; Lieutenant Gordon N. Ray, formerly at Harvard University, a biography of William Makepeace Thackeray; Private Edward Rosen, College of the City of New York, a study of the place of Copernicus in the development of modern thought; Lieutenant Harry Bober, College of the City of New York, a study of the printed "Books of Hours," their development, style, schools, iconography, and influences; Private Claude Willis Barlow, Mount Holyoke College, a critical edition of the works of St. Martin de Braga, sixth century Spanish archbishop; Captain Donald Eugene McCown, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, historical studies of the early cultures of Baluchistan, and of the relationships of the civilizations of the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia during the third millennium; Lieutenant Barnaby Conrad Keeney, formerly at Harvard University, a study of the origin and development of the feudal institution, judgment by peers, on the continent of Europe and in England; Lieutenant C. Vann Woodward, Scripps College, the completion of a book to be entitled "Origins of the New South, 1880-1913"; Warrant Officer (j.g.) William Farr Church, University of Kentucky, a study of political thought in seventeenth century France; Lieutenant Commander Henry Ladd Smith, formerly at the University of Minnesota, studies of America's part in the development of world air routes and of the history of our foreign air policy; Major Hodding Carter, Greenville, Mississippi, a book on the establishment of the West Florida Republic in territory taken from Spain in 1810 by American colonists from Spanish Florida; Dale L. Morgan, Salt Lake City, Utah, a history of Mormonism and the Mormons with particular reference to the influence of the Mormons upon American life since 1830.

The first awards to be made under the Library of Congress program of Grants-in-Aid for Studies in the History of American Civilization have been announced by Luther H. Evans, Acting Librarian of Congress. The grants-in-aid, established on the basis of a subvention from the Rockefeller Foundation, are distributed by the Library of Congress to recipients selected by an administrative committee composed of the chief executive officers of the major research councils: Waldo G. Leland (chairman), director, American Council of Learned Societies; Ross G. Harrison, chairman, National Research Council; and Robert T. Crane, executive director, Social Science Research Council. The administrative committee

is assisted in its work by an advisory committee composed of: Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota; Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin; Ralph H. Gabriel, Yale University; Harlow Shapley, Harvard University; Richard H. Shryock, University of Pennsylvania; and Allen Tate, the University of the South. The purpose of the grants is to offer support to research and writing in the history and civilization of the United States, with particular reference to the history of the last century. The studies for which aid is sought must be of national interest and relate to the history of the country as a whole. Local and regional studies which do not have a significant influence upon national development are outside the scope of the program, as are also biographies (except biographies of personalities whose careers have been of national significance), fiction, juveniles, and direct discussions of current social, political, and economic problems. Applicants for grants must be mature scholars who are citizens or domiciled residents of the United States. A demonstrated competence in historical investigation and a demonstrated ability to write well are required. The recipients of the first installment of the grants, and their projects, are: William Charvat, Ohio State University, the economics of authorship in America in the nineteenth century; Harry Hayden Clark, University of Wisconsin, the influence of Newtonianism and Darwinism on American literature from 1775 to 1910; Chester McArthur Destler, Connecticut College, a biography of Henry Demarest Lloyd; Richard Mercer Dorson, Michigan State College, folktales and legends of the Old Northwest; James Thomas Flexner, Clintonville, Connecticut, an account of American painting as an expression of American civilization; Robert Douthat Meade, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, a biography of Patrick Henry; Robert Price, Ohio State University, Johnny Appleseed: The Man and the Myth, a biographical and folklore study of John Chapman; Benjamin Townley Spencer, Ohio Wesleyan University, An American Literature: The History of a Phrase, an inquiry into the conceptions of nationality in American literature; Sidney Warren, Jacksonville Junior College, beginnings of a literary culture in the Pacific Northwest; Oscar Osburn Winther, Indiana University, Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine: A Study in American Social and Cultural History. Grants will ordinarily be made twice a year, on the basis of applications received not later than April 1 and October 1, respectively. Applications for the second group of awards will be received until October 1, 1945.

The Medieval Academy of America has established a medal in honor of Charles Homer Haskins (1870-1937), one of the founders of the Academy and its second president. The award will be offered annually for a distinguished publication in the field of medieval studies. The committee on award at present is Archer Taylor (California), chairman, Sidney Painter (Johns Hopkins), and Roger S. Loomis (Columbia). Professor Haskins served for several years as secretary of the American Historical Association and was its president in 1922. As a

medievalist Charles Homer Haskins was an American scholar whose work was accepted as authoritative as readily abroad as in his own country. The establishment of the medal bearing his name is a worthy tribute to a great scholar and teacher.

Charles Scribner's Sons have offered a prize of ten thousand dollars for a book length manuscript on American history. The study may be in any period and of any region or phase of American history. "The principal requisite of the book along with the obvious requirements of outstanding literary merit and historical importance, is absorbing interest for the general reader." The Society of American Historians is sponsoring the prize and has selected the following as judges: Esther Forbes (author of *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In*), Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas, Dumas Malone, and Henry M. Wriston. The closing date of the contest is February 1, 1946. A detailed statement of the conditions may be obtained from Charles Scribner's Sons, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel under the War Manpower Commission reported on December 31, 1944, that it had registered a total of 439,757 persons of whom 19,637 were women. Under the rubric "history" there were 4,193 registrants of whom 802 were women. The median age of all registrants in history was 39.4 years. The largest number (1,200) was in the bracket 40-49 with only six fewer in the age group 30-39. The doctor's degree had been attained by 1,806, the master's degree by 1,532, and the bachelor's degree or four years of college by 768. A special breakdown of the 802 women registered as historians gives the median age 37.2 and the largest number (279) in the age group under 29. The doctor's degree was attained by 240 women and the master's degree by 366. All the 439,757 names are on punch cards, which makes a formidable archival bulk but is a unique and valuable census of contemporary American scholarship. The ultimate disposal, or retention in part, with or without some policy of keeping it up to date by the Civil Service Commission, or some other agency, and of having such records open to institutions, corporations, etc., is a complex of undecided questions.

There is a great interest among American scholars as to what has happened to their confreres in the occupied lands. Foremost among the groups who have been blacked out by Nazi occupation are French historical scholars. The following information has been compiled from the reports of American historians returning from flying visits to Paris and from letters received since the liberation of France. Alfred Coville, chairman of the French Committee of Historical Sciences, has died, as has Charles de la Roncière, historian of the French navy and chief of the department of printed books in the Bibliothèque Nationale. A major loss by death is the economic historian Marc Bloch, presumably a victim of the

Gestapo and Nazi anti-Semitism. M. Halphen is all right. Pierre Caron, our new honorary member, has retired as director of the National Archives and is directing work on the history of the war, especially "*la semaine glorieuse*." Charles Braibant, formerly chief of the archives of the ministry of marine, is inspector general of archives and libraries. Georges Bourgin of the National Archives has retired. Camille Bloch, formerly director of the war archives at Vincennes, is alive and well. André Siegfried is in good health and was recently elected to the Academy. Charles Rist has continued to rewrite his (and Gide's) *Histoire des doctrines économiques*, adding much on American economic thought. He is at the moment in San Francisco. Charles Cestre has retired by reason of age from the chair of American civilization at the Sorbonne. M. Le Breton, author of a life of William James, is a possible successor to M. Cestre. Abbé Dimnet has continued to live quietly in the shadow of Notre Dame "never doubting that the Americans would be along some day." Georges Lefebvre, who was technically retired for age from Aulard's chair, volunteered to continue to teach quietly the history of the French Revolution in the good old Republican tradition. Neither the Germans nor Vichy disturbed him. He had graduate students but gave no public lectures. M. and Mme. Lot have been living quietly at Fontenay-aux-Roses and are well. Philippe Lauer, formerly chief of the manuscript division of the Bibliothèque Nationale, retired, is safe and well. Raoul Blanchard, the geographer, after helping re-establish republican government at the prefecture of Lyons, has resumed his chair at the University of Grenoble. Pierre Renouvin, the military historian of the last war, has continued to give his courses throughout the war. The Bibliothèque de la Guerre Mondiale, of which he was director, was saved, but part of the château at Vincennes housing it was destroyed. Similarly, although the building was burned, the archives of the department of foreign affairs were saved. The American Library in Paris has been open and operating throughout the four years of occupation. On January 2 Mr. Milton Lord of the Boston Public Library took over its administrative direction temporarily. M. Abel Doysié, who was resident assistant in Paris to Dr. Waldo Leland in the preparation of Volume II of the *Guide to Material on American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris*, writes his associate, John J. Meng, "I am living with my sister, since I gave up my flat when I decided to go to Limoges after being imprisoned for two months by the Germans in 1942. I returned lately to Paris where the sight of your troops makes me forget all I was through. But I am homeless—with most of my furniture bombed out." The only one of the historians who conspicuously behaved badly was Bernard Faÿ. He is not likely to be considered important enough for the extreme penalty but will be, perhaps has been, *frappé d'indignité nationale*. Carcopino, who is even less important, has no future. After a word about the work of the Germanist Vermeil, who was flown out by the shuttle service to save him from the Gestapo and did good work in London, Professor Crane Brinton, who with Dr. Waldo G. Leland furnishes most of the above news, concludes his letter with a general remark that we quote:



Many others from the academic world did good work in the Resistance, but they modestly will not talk about it. The Rists and the Lots had both lost sons in the fight against the Germans. All of us were impressed with the dignity and courage of our colleagues; they were not self-pitying, and they did not despair about the future of France. They assumed that France had never ceased to be an ally of Britain, and that she had become our ally on November 7, 1942, and they never seemed to worry about French participation in the councils of the Allies—they assumed it as a matter of course.

The well-known French historical periodical, *La Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporain*, has resumed publication.

*Some Aspects of the Problem of the University in France* is the title of Report No. 5 of the European Student Relief Fund. It is a remarkably frank criticism of the limitations of the prewar French university, with suggestions for overcoming these limitations in the future. The deficiencies are described as three-fold. Briefly, they are: (1) The French student is not a man; his intellectual abilities have been developed at the expense of any consciousness of being a total person. Examples are given of his lack of participation in sport, his disregard of hygiene, and, in the case of women students, lack of a natural interest and pride in personal appearance. (2) The French student is a bourgeois. Although he may be from a poor family he is enabled by a fellowship to pursue his studies but he does so with such concentration as to separate himself from the nation's life and from effectual concrete tasks. He is a luxury "not serving anything or anybody, not even culture." (3) The student has no social role. He is not asked to use tools not belonging to his vocation, only those of his calling, which is of intellectual character. In spite of these deficiencies, the French student accepted his responsibilities after the German occupation. Enduring hardships for which he was ill equipped, he contributed a concrete service to the community and to his country. The Report "reflects the point of view of French university circles that have taken part in the Resistance. . . . It is also the judgment of young men who have cognizance of the new conditions and the new realities of the national life and, consequently, the new exigencies that the university of tomorrow must meet." Copies of the Report are available from the World Student Service Fund, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

*Soviet Culture in Wartime*, Number 3, 1945 (published by the American Russian Institute, 101 Post Street, San Francisco 8, California, 25 cents), covers a number of fields of Soviet culture and includes, among others, the following articles: "Soviet Schools" by Eugene Medynsky; "Tribute to Alexander Kaun" by Ernest J. Simmons; "Minorities in the Soviet Far East" by Owen Lattimore; "The Organization of Soviet Science" by Peter L. Kapitsa, and "Some Aspects of Psychiatry in the U.S.S.R." by Gregory Zilboorg.

*The Study of Russia in the United States*, a series of four articles, has been reprinted by the New York *Herald Tribune*. The articles are "The Cost of

"Ignorance" by Joseph Barnes, former Moscow correspondent, now foreign editor for the New York *Herald Tribune*; "Scholarship and Trade" by Ernest C. Ropes, chief, Russian Unit, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; "The British Experience" by Sir Bernard Pares, former director, London School of Slavonic and East European Studies; "An American Institute for Slavic Studies" by Ernest J. Simmons, professor of Russian literature, Cornell University.

*Post-War Educational Reconstruction in the United Nations* is the title of the Twenty-first Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, edited by I. L. Kandel. It contains articles on Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Scotland, the Union of South Africa, and the United States. Statements by the representatives of the devastated countries give added weight to the now generally accepted view that those countries will welcome the assistance of the United Nations in the rebuilding of their schools and the furnishing of equipment and libraries but will not welcome foreign teachers. Dr. Kandel believes it is even doubtful whether places in the educational systems of their own countries will be found for teachers who have been abroad during the years of crisis and suffering. (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York 27, \$3.70.)

## Personal

The first contribution to the *American Historical Review* from the pen of Carl Lotus Becker appeared in the October issue in 1899, the last, a perfectly characteristic little note, in the April issue this year. Between those years the graduate student of 1899 had become one of the most distinguished American scholars in the field of history. His death in Ithaca, New York, on April 10, at a time when he was busy with scholarly projects, came as a shock and leaves a sense of great loss. Professor Becker had long struggled with ill health, but surgical interference a few years ago had given him complete relief and restored health. His death after a few days' illness followed an intestinal infection and renal failure. Professor Becker was born near Waterloo, Iowa, September 7, 1873. In one of his best pieces of writing, called in the first edition *The United States: An Experiment in Democracy*, he tells of his boyhood in a German-American farm community and reflects on the making of Americans. He went for a year to nearby Cornell College in Mt. Vernon, Iowa. Then he transferred to the University of Wisconsin just as Frederick Jackson Turner and Charles H. Haskins were rising to leadership. Once under Turner's influence, the shy, retiring Iowa boy had no other ambition but to study and write history. The urge in him to research, to write, to perfect his power of expression was always greater than his urge to teach. But to students with perceptive minds he was a great teacher. He did not want to

make converts or disciples or tell anybody what to do or how to think after any pattern except one of their own choosing. By his own emancipation he liberated the minds of others. His was a philosophy of freedom. "I have no faith," he once wrote, "in the philosophy of abolishing oppression by oppressing oppressors. I have no faith in the infallibility of any man, or of any group of men, or of the doctrines or dogmas of any man or group of men, except in so far as they can stand the test of free criticism and analysis. I agree with Pascal that 'thought makes the dignity of man'; and I believe therefore that all the great and permanently valuable achievements of civilization have been won by the free play of intelligence in opposition to, or in spite of, the pressure of mass emotion and the effort of organized authority to enforce conformity in conduct and opinion." His graduate work was done partly at Wisconsin and partly at Columbia, where he pursued both American and European history. His doctorate was taken at Wisconsin in 1907. During his academic career he published more in American history but taught chiefly European history with a special interest in eighteenth century thought and the French Revolution. It was in this area that he stimulated the interest of his graduate students, if one may speak in connection with Becker of anything so narrowing as an area. He would have objected to being labeled as any kind of historian, but it is true that whether he wrote of Europe or America he wrote about ideas and thinkers and trends of thought. Each topic he touched seemed under the magic of his pen to become clear and comprehensible and worth while. He seemed in person and in print above the turmoil of the conflicts, past or present, that stirred other men. Sometimes he seemed a twentieth century philosophe. To Justice O. W. Holmes's question as to what he thought of the human race, Becker replied drily, "Mr. Justice, I wish them well." But the seeming aloofness fell away when things he felt vital were at stake. The reader of his essays in the *Yale Review* published as *New Liberties for Old* can see that plainly, for successive essays show his deepening sense of the peril threatening everything he held worth while in his own land and in the world's civilization. Professor Becker taught in Pennsylvania State College, in Dartmouth, for fourteen years in Kansas University, briefly in the University of Minnesota, and then in Cornell University. On his retirement he took on the task of writing the history of Cornell, of which one volume appeared before his death. Many honors came to him, including membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and in the American Philosophical Society. He was President of the American Historical Association in 1931 and the recipient of honorary degrees from several great universities. His wife, a son in the armed services, and a grandson survive him.

Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead, Oriental Institute professor of Oriental history at the University of Chicago, died on April 11 at the age of sixty-five after a protracted illness. His health had been failing for some time, but he remained active to January 30, when he fell and broke his thigh. Professor Olmstead covered a

remarkably broad field in works both of detailed research and of interpretation. He had prepared himself for this not only by study but also through extensive travels in the countries he described. His special field was the ancient Near East from the earliest times to the rise of Mohammedanism, though his interests went beyond this both in time and space. An example is the article, "History, Ancient World, and the Bible," in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* for January, 1943 (II, 1-34). His chief books are *History of Assyria* (1923), *History of Palestine and Syria to the Macedonian Conquest* (1931), and *Jesus in the Light of History* (1942). His *History of Persia* is soon to be published. In addition there were many specialized studies and articles. Several of these dealt with problems of the history of the Near East in Hellenistic and Roman times. Professor Olmstead was known personally to a large group of students and scholars through his teaching, informal contact, and his activity in learned societies. Before coming to Chicago in 1929 he had served at the universities of Missouri and Illinois. He also repeatedly served at other institutions during summers. He was very active in the American Oriental Society and had served as president both of it and of its Western branch. He was almost equally active in the American Historical Association, attended its meetings regularly, and frequently appeared on programs. At the time of his death, he had not finished all the major tasks he had set himself, but, even so, the impact of the works completed will long be felt.

Clifton Rumery Hall, a member of the department of history of Princeton University for thirty-five years, died in the Princeton Hospital on April 19 after a short illness. He was sixty years old. Professor Hall was interested primarily in American social history since the Civil War. He wrote little, but he was one of the great teachers of his generation. Long before the slogan of integration became popular, he had pointed out to his students the need for intensive study of economic and social history, of American art and literature, in order to understand American politics. Thousands of students remember his course in American Democracy as one of the most stimulating experiences of their undergraduate career. Professor Hall was born in Danvers, Massachusetts, and graduated from Amherst College in 1906. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton in 1914. He was not married and left no close relatives.

The Canadian membership of the Association is diminished by the death on April 3 of Professor Eric Edward Boothroyd, professor emeritus of history in the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Province of Quebec. Professor Boothroyd was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took honors in history and later his master's degree. He began his teaching at a lycée in Normandy but soon came to Bishop's, where he was a popular teacher and devoted worker with his students and for the institution. He retired in June, 1944, after thirty-eight years' service as head of the department of history and since 1927 vice-principal. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1927.

William A. Oldfather, head of the classical department in the University of Illinois, lost his life by drowning on May 26. Professor Oldfather was a member of this Association and had contributed reviews recently to this journal.

Joseph R. Hayden, head of the department of political science in the University of Michigan and recently vice-governor of the Philippines, died suddenly in Washington on May 19. He was the author of *The Senate and Treaties, 1789-1817* (1920) and a volume, *The Philippines: A Study in National Development* (1942), which will long stand as definitive for the era that ended with the Japanese invasion.

Miss Frances Morehouse, associate professor of history emeritus in Hunter College, died March 21 in Montevideo, Minnesota. Miss Morehouse held both bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Illinois. She received the doctor of philosophy from the University of Manchester, England. Her teaching career covered service in the Illinois State Normal, the University of Minnesota, Teachers College (Columbia), the University of Manchester, and in Hunter College from 1926 until her retirement in 1942. She was at one time president of the Middle States Association of Teachers of History. Her keen mind, her vivid personality, and her broad culture made Miss Morehouse an excellent teacher and a most gracious friend and companion. Her texts in the fields of history and social science for secondary schools were often revised and reissued. She also wrote a life of Jesse W. Fell, the Illinois educator.

Anthony C. J. Davidonis, a member of this Association and for the past three years instructor in history in Princeton University, died April 21. Dr. Davidonis was born April 22, 1915, in Ansonia, Connecticut. He received both his undergraduate and graduate degrees from Yale University.

It is with regret that we record the death by his own hand on April 8 of Mr. Leon Fraser, a member of the Board of Trustees of the American Historical Association and a financier and public servant of international standing. At the time of his death he was president of the First National Bank of New York after two years as chairman of the board of the Bank of International Settlements. Mr. Fraser was a graduate of Columbia, where he also earned his master's and doctor's degrees. He was admitted to the bar and at one time was an instructor in political science in his alma mater. His untimely death at the age of fifty-six closed a brilliant and varied career.

John D. Hicks, Morrison professor of history in the University of California, has been appointed dean of the graduate division in that institution succeeding the late Charles B. Lipman.

Hans Kohn of the department of history of Smith College will deliver in the week of July 16 the five lectures on the Norman Wait Harris Foundation

at Northwestern University on representative thinkers of nineteenth century nationalism.

A. T. Volwiler is visiting professor of history this summer at Washington University in St. Louis.

W. Turrentine Jackson of Iowa State College and Anatole Mazour of the University of Nevada are visiting instructors at the University of Wyoming summer session. Professor Mazour has been invited to Stanford University as visiting associate professor for the academic year 1945-46.

W. T. Laprade, professor of European history and chairman of the department of history at Duke University, has been appointed managing editor of the *South Atlantic Quarterly* to succeed the late Henry R. Dwire.

Oscar Halecki, director of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, has recently been appointed professor of Slavonic history at the University of Montreal. Dr. Halecki will hold his new post in addition to his work as professor of history at Fordham University and as director of the Polish Institute.

Donald G. Barnes of Western Reserve University and A. A. Lobanov of the University of Southern California are members of the University of Michigan summer session staff for 1945. In September Professor Lobanov will become a regular member of the staff to take charge of the work in Slavic history. Professor Albert Hyma, who has been on leave of absence during the past year, will return to his regular duties at the beginning of the fall term.

Arthur E. Bestor, jr., has been promoted to associate professor of history in Stanford University.

George Bauerlein, jr., resigned as assistant professor of history at North Carolina State College, effective March 1, in order to enter business in Alabama.

Winston B. Thorson has been given a permanent appointment as assistant professor of history at the State College of Washington.

Colton Storm, curator of maps at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, has been appointed curator of manuscripts at that library following the resignation of Howard H. Peckham, who has gone to the Indiana Historical Bureau. Mr. Storm will continue to have charge of maps for a time.

Paul M. Angle, formerly secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, has been appointed director and secretary of the Chicago Historical Society to succeed the late Dr. L. Hubbard Shattuck.

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